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ABSTRACT

The articles in this report describe current social conditions of blacks in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, and examine how government policies can affect such conditions. Brenda Maisha Jefferson Jackson discusses black housing opportunities and the negative impact of racial discrimination, political powerlessness, and economics on these opportunities. Carl E. Singley examines crime as a political issue, the impact of crime on blacks, and black support of anti-crime proposals. Jean E. Moore considers black attendance and faculty representation in institutions of higher education, reviews programs that extend blacks' educational opportunities, and presents recommendations for increasing black access to higher education. Willie F. Johnson explores youth employment and underscores the need for continued government intervention to increase youth employment opportunities. Elmer Smith examines the distorted image of blacks depicted in the media. Thaddeus P. Mathis discusses potentially disastrous effects of government budget cuts and developments in Philadelphia politics on the black community. John P. Fernandez discusses the Reagan administration's conservative stand on affirmative action, and presents recommendations for greater affirmative action in Philadelphia. Finally, Beverly Harper describes poor conditions for business in Philadelphia, and explores how the government and private sector can be involved in developing business opportunities in the city. (MJL)

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The State of Black Philadelphia 1982

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INTRODUCTION

by

Robert W. Sorrell

Last year the Urban League of Philadelphia released for the first time, a major research document, "The State of Black Philadelphia, 1981."

In that report, we reviewed the progress that blacks and other minorities made in many areas including employment, housing, education, criminal justice and health.

If last year's report was dismal, this year we generally find conditions for blacks to be catastrophic.

Eight respected authorities have disected the increasing levels of youth unemployment, attacks against affirmative action, dilapidated housing, injustice in the courts, limited minority business opportunities and a reduction in political power among Philadelphia's black community.

This year we included the impact of the Philadelphia media, a too-often overlooked discipline which has long provided a powerful and negative effect on the lives of non-whites.

Approximately one month ago, Ronald Reagan celebrated his first anniversary as President. While wealthy conservatives joined the President in a White House gala affair steeped in pagentry and splendor, poor people peeked in via television; they looked on with a bitter sense of irony.

The Administration's policies have had a devastating effect on Philadelphia's minority community. It is clear that the President has shifted the nation's resources from a policy of help for the disenfranchised to a defense mania, while claiming the nation faces a period of "limited resources."

To put it simply: The needs of the poor are being ignored. America is pursuing public policies which create a permanent underclass of black and poor people, many of them in Philadelphia.

Mr. Reagan's so-called "social safety net," has gaping holes in it. Blacks are falling through, smashing themselves on the economic pavement. Reduction in federal programs which impact so heavily on the Philadelphia community have not just trimmed the fat, they have cut all the way to the bone. Those cuts, initiated by the President, were concentrated in programs in which blacks were a third to a half of all beneficiaries.

During Mr. Reagan's first term in office, the rich got tax cuts, and the Pentagon got a blank check. But poor people lost jobs, training opportunities, food assistance, health care and a lot more.

In Philadelphia, a disproportionate number of poor people are being driven even deeper into poverty.

There is a need — and it is great — for the President to end the war against affirmative action. To imply that affirmative action amounts to "reverse discrimination" is nothing less than a Big Lie. As practiced by both the public and private sectors and consistently endorsed by the courts, affirmative action is nothing less than fair play — removing race and gender as obstacles to hiring and promoting qualified people.

Reduced opportunities for jobs and training, food assistance, health care and much more will continue to injure Philadelphia's poor in both the black and white community.

The state of black people in Philadelphia in 1982 is depressing, to put it charitably. The problems and issues pointed out in this year's report suggest that the well being of blacks may suffer irreversible harm.

We believe it is now time to send out an S.O.S. to the segments of our society less affected by an insensitive public stance. The poor, alone, cannot fight the government's frightening policies.

With the revitalization of the old federalism, there is an urgent need for better-coordinated planning and setting of priorities between federal, state and local government.

As bad as the performance of President Reagan was during his first year in office, it would be a mistake to place the entire burden of minorities on Washington.

Local leaders must do more to assist the disenfranchised to offset the disastrous policies coming out of Washington. Philadelphia needs imagination and commitment to its poor, if future reports on the "State of Black Philadelphia" are to improve.

Last year, my introduction to "The State" ended with the hope that the report would serve as a catalyst for action by those who share our commitment and concern to resolve the difficulties we face.

This year marks the 75th anniversary of the Urban League of Philadelphia. It begins a new era in our history. We will continue to work to upgrade the condition of blacks and others. But the job requires the support of city government and the general population as well.

Let us begin.

HOUSING IN PHILADELPHIA: A DEEPENING DILEMMA

by

Brenda Maisha Jefferson Jackson

> "There is no question in my mind that we have a housing crisis in Philadelphia today. It is new only in its magnitude and in its devastating impact on the very heart and soul of our city."
>
> W. Wilson Goode
> Managing Director
> City of Philadelphia
> May, 1981

Since W. Wilson Goode made this statement at the annual meeting of the Housing Association of the Delaware Valley, Philadelphia's housing situation has progressed from a crisis to a disaster.

Recitation of statistics cannot convey the full dimensions of the critical situation in housing as it relates to the lives of black Philadelphians. Their housing options have always been limited by racial discrimination, political powerlessness and economics. Those factors continue to impact negatively on black Philadelphians. Because Philadelphia is more than 40 percent black, the problems of black residents are the city's problems.

WHERE WE ARE

Toward the end of last year, W. Wilson Goode warned that new approaches to solving Philadelphia's housing dilemma must be undertaken:

> "We must define the problem of housing in human terms. The city is experiencing a rapid deterioration of its housing stock. Our housing is aging and falling into disrepair. This applies to private rental housing as well as owner-occupied housing.
>
> "In addition to a decline in quality, the private rental market available to low-income families is experiencing a devastating decline in quantity. The gap between income and the amount of money required to maintain a home is growing wider and wider. The private rental and ownership markets will soon be beyond the reach of low and moderate income families.

> "Major changes are developing in the public housing program which will make it even more difficult to maintain and provide decent living environments. There is an absence of viable new construction for senior citizens and families. Low income families can't maintain the homes they own and are finding fewer and fewer rental options. Housing is a commodity which many households can no longer afford."
>
> W. Wilson Goode
> November, 1981

The **STATE OF BLACK PHILADELPHIA** with regard to housing can be examined by taking a close look at those options most frequently chosen by blacks: homeownership, publicly subsidized rental housing and private rental housing.

HOMEOWNERSHIP

Ownership of a single-family dwelling providing shelter for a family where one or both parents work is the American dream. For an increasing number of black Philadelphians, this is truly a "dream deferred."

The most obvious factor negatively influencing the ability to purchase and maintain homes is the rate of unemployment which during the last year has been as high as 17.9 percent. Unemployment among black youth has reached 20 percent and is probably twice as high counting of those young people too discouraged to look for work. While we can readily relate adult unemployment to an inability to attain or maintain quality housing or housing of choice, frequently the impact that youth unemployment has on formation of new households is ignored. Households which experience irregular employment or underemployment have virtually no ability to secure home purchase financing in today's very tight mortgage market.

The first-time buyer is being severely impaired by the national inflation rate, the drain on investment dollars created by various high-yield investment instruments and the highest mortgage interest rates over a sustained period that America has ever experienced. Interest rates have ranged between 16 percent and 19 percent for the last year. Sustaining mortgage payments on even a moderate two story, three bedroom row house with a purchase price of $25,000 (within the range of current Philadelphia market activity) is becoming more and more difficult for the average family. Below is a comparison of standard housing related costs escalating between 1976 and 1981.

For purposes of clarity, a 30-year fixed rate mortgage for this example is assumed as opposed to a variable rate mortgage which allows monthly payments to fluctuate. A fixed sale price is also assumed. The model is based upon a household composed of two working adults with three children.

TWO-STORY THREE BEDROOM ROW HOUSE NORTHWEST PHILADELPHIA

30-YEAR FIXED RATE MORTGAGE

Purchase Price $25,000

	1976 5% Down Payment/95% Mortgage Mortgage Amount $23,750 @ 9% Average Monthly Costs	1981 20% Down Payment/80% Mortgage Mortgage Amount $20,000 @ 17% Average Monthly Costs
Principal & Interest	$166.09[1]	$285.14[2]
Real Estate Taxes (60 % assessed)	60.00[3]	84.38[4]
Gas Heat, Hot Water Cooking	100.00[5]	120.00[6]
Water & Sewer	6.70[7]	15.67[8]
Electricity	25.00	50.00
Homeowners Insurance	88.00	108.00
Total Monthly Costs	445.79	664.19
Total Annual Costs	5,349.48	7,958,28

Percentage increase between 1976 and 1981 is 67%.

Assume 25% of Gross Annual Income:	$21,397.92	$31,833.12

Gross Annual Income would have had to increase by approximately 13.4% over a five year period.

It is generally advised that households spend no more than 25 percent of their gross annual income for shelter although some lenders are currently going as high as 33 percent. Given that rule of thumb, a family maintaining this home in 1976 would need an annual income of $21,398. Using the same guide, a family would have to earn $31,833 in 1981.

There are obviously a number of variables in considering a model of this nature. A household with one working adult may be able to effect savings in other living costs which could let them comfortably exceed the 25 percent rule. A family may purchase a less expensive structure and perform, over time, sufficient rehabilitation to make the home comfortable. Again, this example is based upon a 30-year fixed rate mortgage, a fixed sale price and a two-salary five person household.

TWO-STORY THREE BEDROOM ROW HOUSE
SOUTH PHILADELPHIA (SWCC Area)
30-YEAR FIXED RATE MORTGAGE

Purchase Price $13,000

	1976	1981
	5% Down Payment/95% Mortgage	20% Down Payment/80% Mortgage
	Mortgage Amount $12,350 @ 9%	Mortgage Amount $10,400 @ 17%
	Average Monthly Cost	Average Monthly Cost
Principal & Interest	$ 87.28[1]	$149.54[2]
Real Estate Taxes (60% assessed)	40.17[3]	43.92[4]
Gas Heat, Hot Water, Cooking	100.00[5]	120.00[6]
Water & Sewer	6.70[7]	15.67[8]
Electricity	25.00	50.00
Homeowners Insurance	68.00	88.00
Total Monthly Cost	327.15	467.13
Total Annual Cost	3,925.80	5,605.56

Percentage Increase between 1976 and 1981 is 70%.

Assume 25% of Gross Annual Income:	$15,703	$22,422

Gross annual income would have had to increase by approximately 14% over a five-year period.

The Philadelphia Planning Commission has stated that the median 1975 purchase price for a single-family home was $13,500.[9] This median was derived from $15,600 "arms length" transactions. A similar analysis of basic costs derives annual housing related costs of $3,926 in 1976 and $5,606 in 1981. The increase in costs is the same 70 percent. The required annual income to maintain this home in 1976 was $15,703 and by 1981 the required annual income had escalated to $22,422.

Today's cost of maintaining a property is sufficient to exclude more than half of the city's black population from homeownership. The cost of home purchasing has an equally devastating impact. In 1976 a buyer of a $13,000 home could get a mortgage for 95 percent of the purchase price requiring a down payment of $650. In 1981 the down payment required for an 80 percent mortgage for the same house was $2,600.

A 95 percent mortgage in 1976 on a $25,000 house required a down payment of $1,250. That same house with an 80 percent mortgage required a down payment of $5,000 in 1981.

Home ownership among black Philadelphians as an option for first-time buyers is becoming less and less possible. Maintenance of homes already owned by blacks is also increasingly difficult. Owning a home is a widely shared goal for most black families. That dream is now virtually unattainable.

PUBLIC HOUSING

Reality for approximately 21,000[10] black Philadelphia households lies in public housing. Public accomodations in Philadelphia is owned and operated by the Philadelphia Housing Authority (PHA). PHA was created pursuant to the Pennsylvania Housing Authorities Law[11] and a city resolution in 1937.[12] By 1941, construction had been completed on the James Weldon Johnson, Richard Allen and Tasker Homes. Subsequent changes in national legislation expanded PHA's ability to construct housing on a much larger scale. In order to provide needed services for this expanded number of units, the Housing Authority entered into a Cooperation Agreement[13] with the city of Philadelphia and the School District. PHA agreed to pay 10 percent of all shelter rents plus full water and electric rates to reimburse the city and school district for the loss of revenue. All PHA property is exempt from local taxes under the initial state enabling legislation. This payment agreement was made in exchange for city services.

The Housing Authority has been referred to by the Committee of Seventy, a Philadelphia watch-dog group, in its recent analysis of PHA as a "government unto itself." PHA is unique in that it structurally involves all levels of government with no apparent coordination or accountability. In effect, everybody owns it and nobody is responsible for it.

Federal government involvement is comprised of various funding streams including the operating subsidy system which reimburses PHA for expenses incurred in excess of rents collected and modernization funds. The Federal Government also regulates most aspects of PHA management operations. The city government is involved through its Cooperation Agreement of 1950. In addition, two members of the Board of Directors are appointed by the Mayor, two by the city controller and those four representatives elect a fifth member. State government is involved in that PHA was created pursuant to State enabling legislation. In addition, the State Department of Community Affairs is responsible for monitoring PHA.

Since the inception of the public housing program in its current form, the federal government has been its primary, and virtually exclusive source of support. Ironically, the Federal Government did not plan to be the houser of last resort for the nation's poor. Public housing was built for the depression-era's temporarily poor, returning veterans and others who may have been without housing through no fault of their own.

During the past 40 years, it has evolved into a multi-billion dollar enterprise providing shelter for persons whom many consider "permanently poor." The Federal Government wishes to be relieved of this responsibility. In November of 1981 HUD under Secretary Donald Hovde announced the Federal Government's plans to reduce or eliminate its role in public housing.

It has been obvious for some time that the Federal Government desired to get away from this aspect of the housing business. HUD had directed housing authorities to anticipate a 14.5 percent reduction in operating subsidies effective April 1, 1981. This reduction resulted from a $148 million short fall in appropriations for the last fiscal year.

The House-Senate Conference Committee on the Fiscal Year 1982 appropriations agreed to appropriate $1,205 billion for Fiscal Year 1982 and restore the $148 million reduction in 1981 funding. The Reagan Administration, however, wants the program's 1982 appropriation cut to $1.6 billion; it also seeks to eliminate the $148 million restoration This funding provided 85 percent funding for 1981 and 70 percent in 1982.

During October of 1981, authorities representing big cities testified before the House Banking Committee's Subcommittee on Housing in response to these proposed and actual cuts. Robert J. Rigby, Executive Director of the Housing Authority of New Jersey said:

> "Given the administration's current proposals for funding operating subsidies, it is clear that the intent is to close down the public housing program . . . It's objective is to terminate the program. Public housing's 2,800 authorities, 1.3 million units and 3.5 million households are to be squeezed into an idelogical juggernaut whose guiding principle is that 'government should not be in the business . . . and damn the consequences.' The conclusion seems inescapable."

Mr. Rigby's sentiments were echoed by housing administrators from across the country Testimony was replete with recitations of reduced maintenance and repair capacity, personnel layoffs and the conclusion that the Federal Government is shutting down the public housing program.

Current Reagan administrative policy and legislative objectives could have a devastating impact upon Philadelphia. Lacking supplementary support, the Housing Authority could be forced to shut down some of its dwelling units.

A graphic example of what this could mean is the Schuylkill Falls high rise project. This abandoned project of 448 units broodingly overlooks the Schuylkill River. Its windows are broken and unsealed. Window shades flap in the wind as weather and the elements eat away at its insides. While Schuylkill Falls was abandoned for reasons other than those described above, given the attitude and intent of the Federal Government, it symbolically represents the future of public housing throughout America.

Public housing's struggles are not exclusively those of its managers or its residents, but they are of critical concern to us all. PHA owns 22,900 dwelling units in the city of Philadelphia. Of these 15,355 dwelling units are in conventional consolidated high and low rise sites. The remaining 7,565 are single-family dwellings or small multi-family dwellings scattered throughout the city. If PHA is forced to shut down dwelling units, the city would see a substantial number of vacant properties added to the currently estimated number of 22,000 vacant units. And where would the people go? What happened to the 448 families who occupied Schuylkill Falls? Did they find decent homes? Were they able to keep their families together? Are they living in worse housing now? Authorities do not have answers to these questions. Those 448 families disappeared into the fabric of the city. The dislocation of several thousand additional poor and elderly households will further disrupt the city.

While PHA's future appears grim, its present is deplorable and critical. Forty years of underfunding, mismanagement, patronage abuse and race and class bias have contributed to the warehousing of the city's poor in often deplorable housing conditions.

In the broader society, PHA's tenants who are primarily poor, black and white and aged, are looked down upon as people without value — throwaway people, in effect. In fact, it is not at all uncommon to hear black people say, "I once lived in the projects and it was a nice place to live then." This statement is often followed by explicit or implied comments that public housing has deteriorated solely because of the tenants who live there.

It was a surprise to hear exactly those same statements from white people talking about white public housing tenants. Obviously concentrating large numbers of unemployed persons with little hope for social or economic advancement in large apartment buildings exacerbates the potential for social dysfunction. But that social dysfunction has very limited impact upon a 40-year old electrical system, inadequate boilers, heating systems without thermostats, antiquated plumbing systems or leaking roofs. Public housing in this city and in the nation is now 20 to 40 years old and in many instances needs massive rehabilitation.

PHA has no capital improvements program and claims there is no money to fund such a program. Yet, it has approximately 13 million dollars in unspent modernization funds from HUD.

The City Managing Director W. Wilson Goode, convened a task force on public housing comprised of representatives from PHA, the Office of Housing and Community Development, the City Planning Commission, HUD and the City Finance Department. On November 30, 1981, the task force released a preliminary draft report. The finding included very important facts:

- HUD has not accepted and/or approved an operating budget for PHA's current fiscal year, April 1, 1981 to March 31, 1982.
- HUD has directed PHA to reduce its anticipated operating subsidy by 14.5 percent.
- Until PHA submits an acceptable balanced budget, HUD will not reimburse PHA for $7.3 million in unpaid utility costs accumulated in the preceding fiscal year.
- The Philadelphia Electric Company has brought suit against PHA for collection of back debts and is threatening to terminate service.
- Philadelphia Gas Works is threatening termination of service to PHA.
- Actual deficits (combined operating deficits for FY 1980-1981 and unpaid utilities for FY 1980-1981) for fiscal year 1980-1981 total $11.6 million.
- PHA projects an operating costs deficit for fiscal year 1981-1982 of $5.5 million.

- Cumulative deficits for 1980-1981 and 1981-1982 total approximately $17 million.

- Fully 42.8 percent of the 1981-1982 budget is attributable to utility costs.

- PHA collects approximately 95 percent of its monthly rent leaving a delinquency rate of five percent per year.

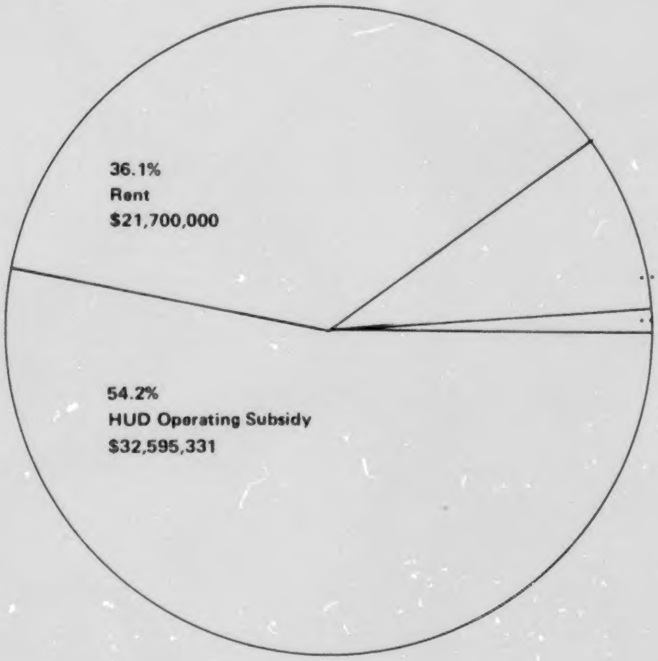
The task force report presents the 1981-1982 operating budget in the following fashion:

(SEE ATTACHED TWO PAGES)

PROJECTED FISCAL SITUATION FOR PHILADELPHIA HOUSING AUTHORITY:

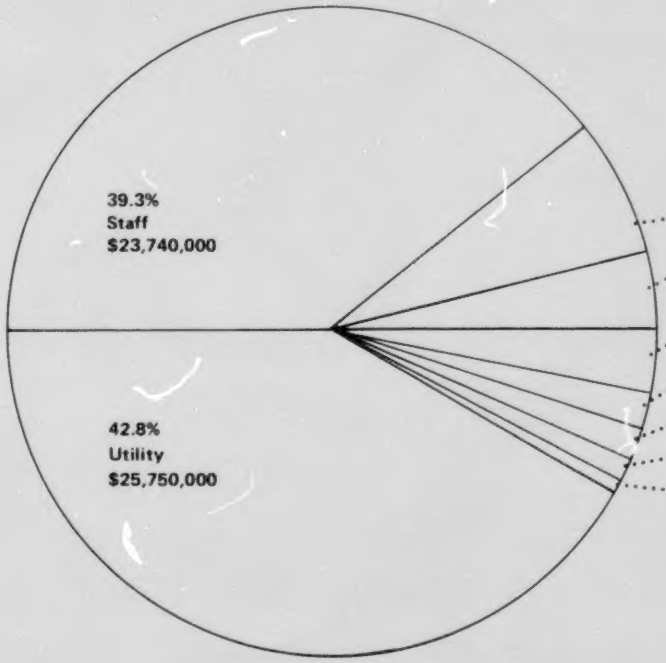
Fiscal year April 1, 1981 to March 31, 1982

REVENUE



9.0%	Projected Deficit	$ 5,506,669
0.7%	Other Income	$ 400,000

EXPENDITURES - Total $60,202,000



5.7%	Contract Costs for Maintenance	$ 3,450,000
4.8%	Materials for PHA Maintenance Labor	$ 2,900,000
3.6%	Insurance	$ 2,200,000
2.8%	Capital Improvements	$ 1,725,000
0.4%	Collection Loss	$ 250,000
0.3%	Tenant Services	$ 172,000
0.03%	Other	$ 15,000

STAFF

12.8%	*Administration, Salary & Termination Pay*	*$ 7,700,000*
14.8%	*Labor & Management for Maintenance of All Sites*	*$ 8,900,000*
4.3%	*Protective Services*	*$ 2,620,000*
7.4%	*Fringe*	*$ 4,520,000*

Source: **Preliminary Draft:**
Task Force Report Public Housing in Philadelphia, November 30,1981

SECTION III (B): SUMMARY OF PHA's FISCAL SITUATION FOR FY 81-82

Fiscal Year 82 Projected Fiscal Positions to March 31, 1982 — Based on Actual Expenditures up to September 30, 1981

	Revenues			
1.	HUD Operating Subsidy* 14.5% = $ 5,527,863 85.5% = $32,595,331	32,595,331	=	54.2%
2.	Projected Rent	21,700,000	=	36.1%
3.	Other Income	400,000	=	0.7%
	TOTAL	54,695,331	=	91%
4.	Projected Deficit	5,506,669	=	9%
	TOTAL NEEDED	60,202,000		100%

*HUD directed PHA to count on a 14.5% reduction in the Operating Subsidy effective April 1, 1981.

	Expenditures	(thousands)	(percent)
1.	Administration & Termination Pay	$7,700	12.8
2.	Labor and Management for Maintenance of all sites	8,900	14.8
3.	Protective Services	2,620	4.3
4.	Fringe	4,520	7.4
	TOTAL STAFF COSTS	23,740	39.5
5.	Utilities	25,750	42.8
6.	Tenant Services	172	.3
7.	Contract Costs for Maintenance	3,450	5.7
8.	Materials Cost for PHA Labor	2,900	4.8
9.	Insurance	2,200	3.6
10.	Capital Improvements	1,725	2.8
11.	Collection Loss	250	.4
12.	OTHER	15	.03
	TOTAL	$60,202,000	100.0

SOURCE: Preliminary Draft: Task Force Report Public Housing in Philadelphia, November 30, 1981.

Analysis of this data requires accounting and fiscal information peculiar to the HUD-Housing Authority relationship. Utility costs in housing authorities across the country uniformly range between 30 percent and 40 percent of the overall operating budget. HUD requires housing authorities to submit budgets based upon utility rates at the time of submission even when the Authority knows or has reason to believe that rates and costs will change during the fiscal year. To date, HUD has reimbursed authorities for 100 percent of utility costs even when those costs exceed the intial budet line item. So, even though authorities can eventually pay their bills, they are constantly in a poor cash position.

Extracting again from the task force's preliminary report, PHA's utility costs for Fiscal Year 1980-1981 were:

Sewer and Water	$ 2,799,597
Electricity	8,909,239
Gas	13,810,800
Oil	4,812,273
Total	$ 30,331,909

As of March 31, 1981, all of the above fiscal year 80-81 costs had been reimbursed except the $7.3 million previously discussed.

PHA is underpaying utility costs in fiscal year 1981-1982. If the Reagan budget ax precludes HUD's ability to reimburse this fiscal year's excess utility costs, the city will be in serious trouble at the end of the fiscal year.

It is clear that the Philadelphia Housing Authority is in an untenable position due to inadequate federal support over a long period of time and because of management problems at the city level. The solution to these problems must come from critical analysis and a new level of support from the various governmental agencies. At a minimum, however, the following must be achieved immediately, in order to avoid a near total catastrophe in Philadelphia's housing:

- A good faith effort must be made to balance the 1981-1982 budget. Because it is so late in PHA's fiscal year, this may be impossible, but the city and PHA can demonstrate to HUD that it is attempting to cope with what HUD Secretary Samuel R. Pierce terms the "federal budget realities."

- Based upon the city and PHA's best efforts at balancing the current budget, HUD should release the balance of utility costs reimbursements accrued during fiscal year 1980-1981.

- PHA should develop a capital improvements budget and schedule. The costs of funding this capital improvements budget should be shared by the city of Philadelphia through its Capital Budget, the Office of Housing and Community Development, PHA, and HUD. PHA's current practice of funding capital improvements out of maintenance funds and in a piecemeal fashion is fiscally and administratively inefficient.

- OHCD should continue providing funds for housing rehabilitation assistance to PHA through its use of Community Development Block Grant Funds.

- The Commonwealth of Pennsylvania should provide funds for housing rehabilitation assistance to PHA.

- PHA should cooperate in a thorough management audit. The difficult days ahead for public housing require absolutely maximum efficiency.

- Tenant representatives should be appointed to the PHA Board immediately. Tenant participation and cooperation are mandatory as the Authority begins to cope with "new realities" on the federal level.

- PHA must prepare a new comprehensive repair and maintenance program to maximize every dollar available to it for maintaining its inventory.

- PHA must spend its $13 million unspent modernization funds to improve existing public housing.

- Maximum effort must be exacted by all levels of government, including elected representatives, to achieve adequate federal support.

Public housing is an incredibly valuable resource. The city could not hope to replace 22,900 dwelling units within even fifty years. There may be radical changes for the public housing program in the immediate future — seriously reduced federal subsidies, a voucher system, increases in rent levels charged to tenants and changes in utility reimbursements which are already affecting scattered site tenants. And if we do not seriously address the question of public housing — where will 100,000 people go, except into oblivion.

RENTAL HOUSING

Philadelphia is popularly perceived as a "City of Homes" where residents are "good," "stable" homeowners. While Philadelphia does have a high home ownership rate when compared to other cities, it is important to note that in 1970, 40 percent of all dwelling units in the city were rental units. The following dwelling unit distribution figures help explain why the city is generally unaware of the percentage of our dwelling units which are part of the rental inventory.

Size	Rental Units	Percentage
1 Dwelling Unit	77,389	30.0
2 Dwelling Units	40,416	15.6
3-4 Dwelling Units	42,494	16.5
5-9 Dwelling Units	31,095	12.0
10-19 Dwelling Units	12,521	4.8
20-49 Dwelling Units	14,982	5.8
50+ Dwelling Units	39,531	15.3
	258,540	100.0

Fully 45 percent of the city's rental dwelling units are located in single-family and two-family dwellings. The casual observer would perceive these properties as owner-occupied single-family homes. In fact, in some Philadelphia neighborhoods it is not unusual to find a family who has rented the same home for as long as 20 years.

The condition of the city's rental housing market is of very high concern to black Philadelphians. As of the 1970 census, roughly 60 percent of blacks were renters. It is unlikely that this ratio will be significantly changed when 1980 housing census data is finally made available. In fact, the combination of the high cost of home maintenance as well as disastrously high employment rates may have increased renter population percentages.

A recent study published by the Housing Association of Delaware Valley (HADV) entitled Philadelphia's Rental Market: Affordability and Availability provides important insights into two major elements of the rental housing picture: rental availability and rental affordability. According to the HADV report, between 1970 and 1975, Philadelphia has lost 21,215 rental dwelling units. This loss is particularly critical in the area of decent affordable housing units suitable for large and small families.

Even households which have been certified eligible for the Federal Government's Section Eight rent subsidy program and by definition can afford rents, have an extremely difficult time finding quality homes and appropriate size dwellings.

The search for a family dwelling of good quality averages from six months to one year, even when the problem of affordability is removed. Based on HADV's survey, the city's rental market is most active in only five areas: Center City, Germantown/Mt. Airy, Chestnut Hill, the Northeast and University City. Within the five neighborhoods, a survey of 211 rents found only 47 percent of the rental units within the means of low-income people. In addition, most of the units affordable to low-income households were one bedroom and efficiency units.

One of the conclusions which could logically be drawn from HADV's data is that there is precious little housing suitable in size and quality for family living. Where housing may exist it is most often too expensive or located in neighborhoods which for a variety of reasons, including racial discrimination and accessibility, makes it inaccessible.

National trends, indicating an industry-wide low level of housing starts, directly impact on Philadelphia's housing situation. There has virtually been no construction of rental housing units for low and moderate income households over the last 10 years. Given current lending interest rates, new construction, lacking subsidy dollars, cannot be afforded by poor people.

In spite of these factors, the President's Commission on Housing has recommended that the private rental market be used as the nation's primary resource for those households who cannot afford the private market. The Commission's December 17, 1981 draft report to the President, was surprising and bizarre. The Commission actually used the phrase "people before housing."

Among the report's recommendations are the following:

- Eliminating long-term commitments to housing developments **including public housing;**
- Reducing the subsidy eligibility to 50 percent of median income;
- Eliminating Section Eight New Construction and Substantial Rehabilitation Programs.

The Office of Management and Budget was more direct in its recommendations. Mr. Stockman wants to wipe out everything!

While there are a number of steps Philadelphia must take to revitalize its housing inventory, the city must first fight the cuts. In today's economy, poor people cannot survive without appropriate subsidies.

WHERE DO WE GO FROM HERE?

The perspective of Managing Director W. Wilson Goode on the problems and challenges in the housing sector of Philadelphia follow:

> The unfortunate reality is that every year there are more and more people in our society who simply cannot afford housing.
>
> The impact of this dilemma is particularly felt in the nation's urban centers.
>
> In Philadelphia county, a good estimate of individuals and families without decent housing is 35,000.
>
> The lack of decent shelter has a negative domino effect that is felt in every area of life — community viability, education, tax bases, related decay of neighborhoods — and most important, family stability.

Solutions to this problem are imperative — and in my view, over the next decade, those solutions will require imagination, dedication and cooperation -- but the most vital component of all will be government leadership that focuses on human needs.

Of course, such factors as economics, geography and politics must be considered, but the crucial bottom line for housing program design and evaluation must be how well we manage the limited resources which are available to us to serve the most needy of our fellow citizens who are suffering terribly in today's economic environment.

Presently, the primary resources that city government has available to address the housing needs of poor people are the federal Community Development Block Grant dollars and the 22,000 rental units owned and managed by the Philadelphia Housing Authority subsidized with federal subsidies. We rely heavily on these resources, but both are facing significant funding cuts. PHA expects a 17 to 22 percent reduction in funds for the next fiscal year. For that same period, the Office of Housing and Community Development is projecting an 18 percent reduction in funding. Thus, I reiterate that we are mandated to set priorities to assure that we are doing as much as possible to shelter those in greatest need. We must be certain that limited resources are reaching those citizens who require the greatest assistance. In my view and my experience, I would prioritize those in greatest need as public housing tenants, followed secondly by renters, thirdly by homeowners and fourth by persons who desire to purchase homes.

Due to the overwhelming need for housing, there is a perception that city government is not targeting public resources to the most deserving. This perception is not true, but to the degree it is perceived as valid, we must correct it. And that can only be done by spending our dollars in such a manner as to benefit the greatest number of people with need for shelter. As an administration, we have begun to make progress in that direction.

The OHCD Major Systems Rehabilitation Program is now enabling us to renovate vacant structures at half the cost per unit of previous programs from $40,00 to $50,000 down to $20,00 to $25,000. By means of this program, city-sponsored funds are used to make homes basically safe and liveable. The potential owner is the partner who completes the cosmetic improvements with a low interest loan available, if necessary, along with technical assistance and training.

The new Home Improvement Loan Bond Program, in conjunction with private financial institutions, will initially allow 4,000 low interest home improvement loans worth a total of $33,000,000 to qualifying homeowners. The OHCD direct investment into this program is $5 million.

The Philadelphia Mortgage Plan, in existence for approximately six years, has provided $80,773,000 in mortgage money for over 7,000 low income families and is an excellent example of a good private/public venture.

But we must do more.

It we are to successfully continue to play a larger role in addressing the ever larger housing needs of those in greatest need, we must leverage our dollars even more effectively. There are several options available.

- o Additional tax-exempt bonds should be floated to encourage investment.
- o Additional investment by public and private pension funds should be sought.
- o City revenues should be invested in those banks and lending institutions that show a willingness to provide greater public service lending.
- o Supportive roles for the city's mortgage lenders should be explored. These lenders collect city property taxes on a monthly basis in conjunction with mortgages and hold the money for a full year.
- o More effective ways to use public dollars to generate private investment dollars should be pursued.

All of the foregoing measures are being intensively explored.

But even if all could be easily implemented, they would not be the total answer to the problem. Because a related and crucial fact is that we must take better care of the existing housing stock we have even in the face of shrinking public resources and support systems.

I have personally, over the past two years, been in every neighborhood in Philadelphia. Many are in fine condition. But many more are not, many are falling into disrepair.

One of the major problems contributing to the decline of the neighborhoods is our very large number of vacant houses. The fact is that the city has approximately 22,000 vacant structures that could become a housing resource.

At least 10,000 of these structures could provide an exceptional housing resource. And government must find a way to make this happen.

To this end, a long, hard examination of the OHCD Home Improvement (HIP) Loans & Grants (L & G) Program is underway. In the past, the average spent per house was $15,000.

This expenditure must be looked at in the same way we are proceeding with the Major Systems Rehab for vacants.

The Home Improvement Program should be concentrated on the nuts and bolts of basic systems and energy conservation: for example: roofs, basic heating and utility systems. In conjunction, government should be supportive of the expansion of the homeowner's role in maintaining housing stock and even improving the stock by means of citywide "Housing Survival Courses" to teach homeowners basic skills. This will enable them to make them partners with vested and grass roots interests in their properties and neighborhoods.

And, finally, the role of public housing cannot be ignored.

It must be the government's responsibility to provide additional support to public housing. Government, being assured of the most efficient and effective use of subsidy funds in the public housing area, must then examine the services for which PHA is reponsible and discern if some of these services cannot be provided by the city as they are to other citizens.

In the final analysis, government must be responsible for the proper shelter of public housing tenants as we are responsible for the proper shelter of other citizens. And public housing tenants should be encouraged to participate in the aforementioned "partnership" role as well as the private homeowener.

Given the state of declining public resources, PHA and the tenants should work out a mutually desirable program to define and assign repair and maintenance responsibilities. For example, under an agreement tenants could assume responsibilities in the areas of painting, insulation and minor plumbing.

This same type of a shared responsibility pact could also be encouraged in a private landlord-tenant contract.

Indeed, over the next five years, the private rental sector will become increasingly important given the high cost of home ownership, the lack of affordable new construction for persons of limited means and senior citizens and changes in federal policies affecting public housing. We must begin to take a serious look at how government can assure revitalization of the rental housing industry to insure that this sector meets maximum housing needs and provides decent, safe and sanitary shelter at affordable costs.

There is no doubt that the task facing us relative to housing is enormous.

Government is involved.

Private business is involved.

And the citizens are involved.

The roles are complex -- but they must be taken up.

* * * * *

The Managing Director prioritized families in greatest need of housing assistance as: 1) public housing tenants; 2) renters; 3) homeowners; and 4) persons who desire to purchase homes. Current allocation of public resources do not match these priorities. The challenge is clear. It is a challenge which must be met by the Mayor, Managing Director, City Council, the private sector and all of the citizens of this city. There are no easy answers, no easy solutions. Collectively, we must first decide we want to assure every resident of this city a decent place to live. We must then use every mechanism available. We must create new measures to accomplish this goal. Our current system of managing and improving housing resources is clearly inadequate.

By working together, we must recognize that we are indeed faced with a human need which affects anyone of us directly and all of us indirectly. We can collectively decide to develop, identify and manage resources to meet the "human need" which is our challenge over the next decade.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Computed on basis of 30-year, fixed rate mortgage at 9 pecent interest rate.

[2] Computed on basis of 30-year, fixed rate mortgage at 17 percent interest rate.

[3] Computed at 60 percent of value at 4.775 mills per $1,000.

[4] Computed at 60 percent of value at 6.750 mills per $1,000.

[5] Based on Consumer Survey; Utility Company unable to provide data.

[6] Ibid.

[7] Based on $40.17 semi-annual minimum service charge with 5/8 inch meter.

[8] Based on $47.00 quarterly minimum service charge with 5/8 inch meter.

[9] Based on Consumer Survey; Utility Company unable to provide data.

[10] Exact figures are unavailable. This figure is calculated at a rate of 90 percent of Philadelphia Housing Authority's occupied units.

[11] Act of May 28, 1937, P.L. 955, 35 P.S. Section 1541.

[12] 1937 Ordinances of the City of Philadelphia, 430.

[13] The initial Cooperation Agreement was signed in 1950. Subsequent agreements or amendments to preceeding agreements were signed in 1951, 1956, 1959, 1966, and 1980.

BLACK PERSPECTIVES ON THE "CRIME EPIDEMIC"

by

Carl E. Singley, Esquire

Since the mid 1960's the "crime epidemic" has been a popular political issue in Philadelphia and throughout the nation. Politicians have made much political capital and indeed successful careers as prosecutors, mayors, governors and presidents by decrying the upsurge in violent crime and promising to make our streets safe.

While blacks and other minorities agree that crime is a critical issue and a devastating reality in their communities, many view the political developments of these last few years with ambivalence. This ambivalence is a function of our awareness that blacks have more at stake in this issue because we are overrepresented in these crime statistics both as victims and perpetrators; many blacks suspect that such slogans as "law and order" and "crime in the streets" are in reality nothing more than euphemisms for the racism that is ever present in American society.

There is concern that the current conservative mood and prevailing anti-crime proposals add little or nothing to relieve the cycle of poverty and despair that characterize many black communities, and that in large measure contribute to criminal behavior. There is even greater concern that current state and federal policies are redirecting declining governmental funding from social services to law and order programs and prison construction. The effect is to create for generations a permanent underclass of unemployed, uneducated and desperate individuals, people who will have no stake in society and who will believe they have nothing to gain from law-abiding conduct.

THE SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND LEGAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE "CRIME EPIDEMIC"

> "Crime is an American epidemic — it takes the lives of 25,000 Americans, it touches nearly one third of American households, and it results in at least $8.8 billion per year in financial losses.
>
> ". . . There has been a breakdown in the criminal justice system in America. It just plain isn't working.
>
> ". . . Two . . . truths are that men are basically good but prone to evil; and society has a right to be protected from them.
>
> "Only our deep moral values and strong social institutions can hold back that jungle and restrain the darker impulses of human nature."

These excerpts are taken from a speech given in September 1981 by President Reagan to the International Association of Chiefs of Police.[1] They appear to reflect both public anxieties about crime and the failure of the criminal justice system. They also capture the prevailing conservative political philosophy on the nature and causes of crime. Whether there is in reality a "crime epidemic" is a matter of considerable dispute among social scientists and criminologists.

What is clear, however, is that there is a widely held public perception that violent crime has spiralled upward within the last two decades. This perception is the result of the flow of three principal factors: official crime statistics, vivid and widespread media accounts of violence and the emergence of crime as a political issue.

Crime Statistics

A commonly used source of information on crime is the Uniform Crime Reports compiled by the Federal Bureau of Investigation. These Reports have cited drastic increases in reported serious crimes at the average rate of 15-20 percent per year over the previous year since the early sixties.[2] Several criminologists have closely scrutinized this data and concluded that there has been an increase in crime reporting, rather than an escalation in criminal activity. They conclude that overall the rate of serious crime has remained stable. This finding was based in part on the increasing use of victimization surveys data which the Bureau of Census started using in 1973.[3] These surveys reveal that reported crimes data often underestimate serious crimes. In 1974 as many as 72 percent of the serious crimes actually committed were not reported.

In Philadelphia, serious or major crimes increased by 23 percent in 1980 over 1979.[4] These crimes include homicide, rape, aggravated assault, robbery, burglary, larceny and auto theft. In 1979, the total offenses actually known to police in these categories was 82,586 and 101,145 in 1980.[5] As is true of the nation generally, the actual serious crime rate in Philadelphia is unclear.

Whatever the shortcomings of the various statistial measures of criminal activity, they all seem to suggest that blacks are overrepresented as victims and perpetrators of serious crimes in Philadelphia and throughout the nation. As we have seen, the underreporting of crime makes it difficult to get a completely accurate picture of who is committing and who is victimized by crime in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania. However, arrest and incarceration rates give some indication of the extent of black and other minority involvement.

In 1980, 47.2 percent of the inmates in county prisons throughout the state of Pennsylvania were minority, and on December 31, 1980, 82 percent of the inmates in the Philadelphia county prisons were minority.[6] In 1979, 68 percent of the defendants entering the criminal justice system in Philadelphia were minority.[7] As to victimization, in 1980, over 60 percent of the serious crimes reported to the Philadelphia police occurred in black and minority neighborhoods.[8]

Crime and the Media

Another factor that influences and perhaps distorts public perceptions of crime are the media accounts of crime statistics and violent crimes. Newspapers often exaggerate the incidence of violence and television news reports offer graphic depictions of criminal carnage. Since only violent crimes or particularly daring criminal escapades get front page coverage or become the lead story for the six o'clock news, the public concludes that such crimes compromise the majority of criminal activities.

A study done of serious crime news coverage by a major metropolitan newspaper over a 17 year period — 1951 to 1968 — determined that 45 percent of its routine stories were devoted to the coverage of serious crime.[9] During this same period, homicide stories went from 23 percent of the crime stories to 66 percent. This study concluded that such coverage distorted the character and incidence of serious crime, since official crime estimates for the period showed that such crimes represented only 20 percent of all reported crimes in that city.[10]

In addition to contributing to public perceptions that there is a "crime epidemic," media coverage may also influence public perceptions of who is responsible for such crime and thereby confirm racial stereotypes. That is, news stories consisting of identifying characteristics of perpetrators such as race, age, employment status and neighborhood, convey the impression that violence is a necessary attribute of all persons possessing these characteristics. For example, the use of the term "wolf packs" by the media in Philadelphia to describe a series of crimes by some groups of black teenagers, has undoubtedly created the impression in the minds of some that any group of three or more black teenagers walking the streets are members of "wolf packs" and presumed to be violence-prone.[11]

Finally, the timing, types, depth and frequency of news stories -- particularly crime stories — are more often the consequence of the exigencies of a competitive news industry rather than a barometer of the prevalence of these episodes, or the degree of public concern about them.[12]

Crime as a Political Issue

Several recent public opinion polls have found that the "crime epidemic" is considered to be one of the most important social problems facing Philadelphia and the nation.[13] The "crime epidemic" has also been a major campaign issue in most local, state and national political campaigns since 1964. It is problematic whether these two developments are the result of an actual increase in crime rates or whether there is a cause and effect relationship between the two. For example, did the "crime epidemic" become a major political issue because the public viewed it as such or is the converse true.

Crime first emerged as a national political issue during the 1964 presidential campaign.[14] The speeches of Senator Barry Goldwater, the Republican nominee, during the campaign had "law and order" as their essential theme, and set into motion a national debate on the causes and cures of crime that foreshadowed the decline of the then prevailing poverty apologia for crime.[15]

The distinction between liberal and conservative views of crime causation has been characterized respectively as "distributive" and "retributive" justice:

> "Retributive justice rests upon the idea, consistent with conservative philosophy, that because a man is responsible for his actions, he ought to receive his just deserts. In contrast, distributive justice rests upon the idea, which has become part of liberal philosophy concerning crime, that individual character and behavior, including criminal behavior, are determined by the socioeconomic environment. Are people bad because they choose to be bad, or are people bad because they are ill-clothed, ill-educated, ill-employed, ill-fed, and ill-housed."[16]

President Nixon was elected on a tough law and order platform and by 1981, virtually every candidate for local, state and national office, Democrat and Republican alike, promised to be tough on criminals and to favor harsh treatment for persons convicted of crime.

In 1972, Philadelphia, like other major cities, elected a law and order candidate, a former policeman, whose theme was "Rizzo Means Business." His was a thinly veiled threat to curb black crime and lawlessness. The candidates for governor of Pennsylvania in 1979 all stressed their backgrounds as crime-fighters and a former U.S. Attorney was elected governor. In the 1981 judicial races in Philadelphia and Pennsylvania, most of the candidates stated that crime was the most significant issue in the campaign and went on record as favoring some type of mandatory or minimum prison sentences.[17] Judge

McDermott, elected to the Pennsylvania Supreme Court this fall, ran on his record of having sentenced 13 convicted criminals to death.

In the 1960's, public debate — spurred by the "Great Society" philosophy — centered on eradicating such potentially criminogenic factors as poverty, unemployment, poor education, and inadequate housing. In the 1980's, these issues were subordinated to crime, economic and national defense issues by the social and fiscal policies of those persons elected to the statehouse and the White House. These policies were and are lodged by the argument that these costly social spending programs have failed, and that the crime rate has drastically increased during a period of national prosperity. President Reagan's speech further demonstrates the current dominance of the conservative view of crime causation:

> "At the very same time that crime rates have steadily risen, our nation has made unparalled progress in raising the standard of living and improving the quality of life.
>
> "It is obvious that prosperity doesn't decrease crime — just as it's obvious that deprivation and want don't necessarily increase crime. The truth is that today's criminals for the most part, are not desperate people seeking bread for their families; crime is the way they've chosen to live.
>
> "Some of these people are poor. Some of them are driven crazy with desire for stuff they'll never be able to afford."[18]

This excerpt not only captures the conservative view of crime causation, but more importantly, provides a rationale for the massive spending cuts proposed by the Reagan Administration in employment, housing, education, welfare and health programs. But this view overlooks the reality that the prosperity of the past 16 years has been relative. The masses of black persons have not benefitted from this increased standard of living. In fact, in 1981, many blacks continue to be economic hostages of a lifestyle characterized by substandard and dilapidated housing, schools that do not educate, inadequate health care, drug devastation, and an unemployment rate that is several times higher than that of whites. The failure of the "Great Society" programs was not, as conservatives imply, that they were ill-advised or misconceived, but insufficiently funded and inefficiently administered.

Anti-crime Proposals

The "crime epidemic" has prompted, along with a great deal of political rhetoric, a number of anti-crime proposals. These proposals focus for the most part on the violent or "street" criminal, and fail to address the "white collar" or economic criminal. It has been estimated that the social and economic costs of "white collar" crimes far exceed that of violent or street crimes.[19]

There are perhaps two unrelated reasons why violent crime receives a higher priority. First, violent crime whatever its actual volume or cost, threatens in an almost primeval way, our sense of personal security. Such crimes seem even more frightening because they often appear to be senseless and unpredictable. Second, white collar criminals are not considered to be as serious a social problem because politicians, legislators, judges and lawyers often share a common background with such persons, and find it easier to identify with their plight.

The anti-crime measures that are proposed most often are: mandatory sentencing for violent crimes, increased prison construction, wider use of capital punishment, speedier trial procedures, preventive detention and the abolition of the exclusionary rule[20] and the insanity defense. We will consider the two most frequently proposed measures: mandatory sentencing and prison construction.

The trend toward mandatory or determinate sentencing of convicted offenders signals the death of the rehabilitative approach which has been declining for many years. The essential premise of this proposal is one of "simple justice." Supporters of this approach argue that since rehabilitation is not working, the public has a right to be protected for some definite period of time from violent, repeat offenders.[21] This trend would limit the discretion of trial judges at sentencing and also increase the number of persons incarcerated. It remains to be seen whether such an approach will have any meaningful affect on the crime rate.

These mandatory sentencing proposals, coupled with the current prison and jail overcrowding throughout the country, will require massive prison construction. For example, Pennsylvania Governor Dick Thornburgh has proposed the building of 2,705 new prison cells in Pennsylvania (a 35 percent increase), at a cost of $112 million or between $40,000 and $80,000 each.[22] On the national level, the United States Attorney General's Task Force on Violent Crime has recommended that the federal government provide $2 billion to help the states increase prison facilities.[23]

This current emphasis on increased use of incarceration and prison construction as panaceas seems misguided given the fact that the incarceration rate in the United States has steadily increased since 1880, and currently, the United States has both the highest crime rate and the highest per capita incarceration rate of any nation in the western hemisphere.[24] In June 1981, there were 349,118 persons incarcerated in federal and state prisons in this country. The number of inmates in Pennsylvania jails and prisons was 17,700; and the average daily prison population in Philadelphia County during 1981 was 3,000.[25]

It is likely that mandatory sentencing provisions will be enacted and implemented long before these new prisons are constructed. Consequently, jails and prisons that are already dangerously overcrowded will become more so. Prison overcrowding and its consequences will be exacerbated.

A study done by the National Institute of Justice of the U.S. Justice Department concluded that prisoners subjected to high degrees of sustained overcrowding have a higher death and suicide rate, more disciplinary problems and a larger number of illness complaints than inmates who are not overcrowded.[26] This overcrowding is a major cause of the violent episodes and riots that have characterized several prisons throughout the country.[27]

IMPLICATIONS OF THE "CRIME EPIDEMIC" FOR THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Impact of Crime on the Black Community[28]

Blacks are overrepresented in the crime statistics as victims and perpetrators. Sixty percent of the serious crimes committed in Philadelphia in 1980 were committed in predominately black communities. Crime continues to contribute to the deterioration of black neighborhoods. Those persons who can afford to move are being driven away. Those who remain are arming themselves and live fearfully. Crime contributes to urban blight by driving businesses and jobs away. Property crimes rob the community of millions of dollars and possessions.

Perhaps the greatest cost of crime in the black community is the human toll. Homicide is the cause of death for 30 percent of black adolescents and young adults. The comparable figure for whites is seven percent.[29] Those young blacks who are not killed stand a good chance of spending some period of time in jail or prison.

In 1978, 40 percent of the persons incarcerated in federal prisons were black and 48 percent of all state prison imates were black.[30] In Pennsylvania in 1980, 47.2 percent of the county prisoners were black. In Philadelphia, where the black population is about 38 percent, 68 percent of the persons entering the criminal justice system in 1979 were black, and 81.8 percent of the persons in the Philadelphia County prisons in 1980 were black and minority.[31]

Black Perspectives on Crime Causation and its Cures

The black perspective on crime is particularly absent from the current debate and dialogue on the solutions to the "crime epidemic." Whether this silence is a result of political impotency or apathy, the black community has the most to lose from the social policy and proposals being formulated. For while we were in large measure the primary beneficiaries of the social programs that are being drastically reduced, if current trends continue, we will be the primary recipients of these mandatory prison sentences to be served in the newly constructed prisons and jails.

The black perspective on crime is more than simply the rationalization that black crime is a legitimate political response to racism. It is more than an attempt to discredit or deny empirical data showing the overrepresentation of blacks in crime. Rather, this perspective attempts to go beyond simplistic solutions and empirical data and insure that the life experiences of the black community in a racist society are given careful consideration in social policy formulation. It offers not a choice between social programs or prison construction, but instead the view that crime involvement is indelibly linked to poverty, unemployment, inadequate education and housing. The black perspective favors both: we want to be protected from violent criminals who prey on our communities and yet we are not prepared to abandon all hope for rehabilitation and see a significant portion of our young black men rot away in prisons.

> "Putting and keeping people in jail is expensive, just as putting and keeping people out of work is expensive. The most economic way to handle crime is to offer full participation in society to all strata of people. It is cheaper to return people to the community with proper support than to keep them unemployed and living in one of the most expensive hostelries on earth, prison. (Dr. Robert L. Green in The Urban Challenge)

The view widely shared in the black community is that criminal conduct by blacks is a consequence of systemic racism.[32] The by-products of this racism are high unemployment, poor education and housing, discrimination in the criminal justice system and a collective feeling of frustration and rage.

Several studies have shown a correlation between unemployment, crime and imprisonment.[33] President Reagan seems to confirm this view in his speech cited above: "Some of these people are poor. Some of them are driven crazy with desire for stuff they'll never be able to afford." Whatever the exact correlation, it seems beyond question that unemployed persons are more likely to commit crimes than employed persons.

The unemployment rate for all blacks in 1980 was 17.9 percent in Philadelphia, 17.4 percent in Pennsylvania and 13.2 percent nationally. The comparable figures for whites were 5.9 percent and 6.3 percent, respectively. For young blacks between the ages of 16-24, the rate was estimated to be as high as 40 percent.[34] The greater percentage of persons jailed for crimes come from this age group. In Philadelphia, 75 percent of the average incarcerated population is between the ages of 18-34.[35]

In addition to unemployment as a contributing factor, many blacks caught up in the crime cycle have serious drug and alcohol addictions. They are illiterate or semiliterate products of public school systems. Many lack a sense of self-worth and self-esteem. This latter factor would appear to explain the seemingly senseless acts of violence against random victims. In the perverse logic of the streets, such acts are viewed by some as assertions of manhood.

The black perspective would offer several solutions on cures for the "crime epidemic." For the long run, many blacks still believe that a good education and a decent job is the best insurance against a life of crime. To that end, it is in the best interest of the black community to fight those job, housing, educational, and income maintenance program budget cuts that are being proposed and implemented in Pennsylvania and nationally. This can be done through greater community involvement and political participation. In addition, the black community should support those anti-crime efforts that protect the community and yet offer the best long-term promise for rehabilitating those persons convicted of crimes.

Greater black participation in the system of criminal justice is essential both to the perception and reality of fairness in the process.[36] That means there is a great need for more black and minority lawyers, prosecutors, judges, court personnel and policemen. In spite of Philadelphia's black population of 38 percent, the number of blacks arrested and jailed, and the city's reputation for police misconduct in 1980, only 17 percent of the Philadelphia Police Department was black.[37]

Many in the Philadelphia black community are undertaking a variety of self-help efforts. These include Town Watch programs, neighborhood patrols, an "anti-crud campaign,"[38] and escort services for the elderly.

In addition, politicians are being encouraged to take strong anti-crime positions and to advocate a better quality of city services and greater police protection for their constituents.[39]

The fight against dispersal of illicit drugs is one in which the overwhelming opponents of crime can participate. Drug pushers and distributors are often known but enjoy the protection of silence practiced because of community codes and fear. The victims are the entire black community, including its youth population.

In sum, the black perspective supports not only those anti-crime proposals designed to curtail and prevent serious crime, but view as equally important those social programs that give blacks a fighting chance at self-respect. Ths perspective advocates both the "war on crime" and the resurrection of the "war on poverty," a political relic from the recent past.

FOOTNOTES

[1] New York Times, September 29, 1981.

[2] Eugene Doleschal, "Crime — Some Popular Beliefs," Crime and Delinquency, January 1979, p. 1.

[3] Ibid., p. 2.

[4] The terms "serious" and "major" crimes are used interchangeably throughout this paper.

[5] 1980 Statistical Report of the Philadelphia Police Department.

[6] 1980-1981 Statistical Report of County Prison Populations of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Corrections.

[7] See Goldkamp, Two Classes of Accused, Cambridge: Ballinger Publishing Co., 1979.

[8] This figure is taken from an analysis of crime distribution figures in the 1980 Statistical Report of the Philadelphia Police Department.

[9] Drew Humphries, "Serious Crime News Coverage and Ideology," Crime and Delinquency, April 1981, p. 191.

[10] Ibid., p. 196.

[11] "Rendell says he'll get tough on 'Wolf Packs'," Philadelphia Inquirer, January 14, 1981.

[12] Herbert Gans, Deciding What's News, Vintage Books, 1979.

[13] Philadelphia City Planning Commission Survey 1980, "22% in poll say crime is city's top problem," Philadelphia Inquirer, November 20, 1980. Various Gallop Polls conducted since 1964 have reached the same conclusion.

[14] James O. Finkenauer, "Crime as a National Political Issue: 1964-1976," Crime and Delinquency, January 1978, p. 13.

[15] See Charles Silberman, Criminal Violence, Criminal Justice, Random House, 1978, pp. 87-116.

[16] Ibid., p. 21, see also. Daniel Glaser, "A Review fo Crime — Causation Theory and Its Application," in Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research, Vol. I, University of Chicago Press, 1979.

[17] "A Focus on Crime: Key Issue is Suited to a Ballot Bulging With Judgeships," Philadelphia Inquirer, October 27, 1981.

[18] See also James Q. Wilson, Thinking About Crime, Basic Books, 1975, pp. 3-20.

[19] The term "white collar" crimes refers to crimes such as embezzlement, bank and mail fraud, political corruption and crimes against the environment. See "Who Got Off: Crime is a Matter of Class," *Philadelphia Inquirer*, October 6, 1981. Also see, "White Collar Crime Symposium," *Temple University Law Quarterly*, Spring 1980.

[20] The "exclusionary rule" is a rule of evidence, rooted primarily in the Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution, which requires the exclusion from trial of evidence gained in violation of a defendant's constitutional rights. See, *Mapp v. Ohio*, 367 U.S. 643 (1961).

[21] See "Determinate Sentencing: Will it Mean the End of Rehabilitation?," *Judicature*, March 1979.

[22] *Philadelphia Inquirer*, September 17, 1981.

[23] *Justice Assistance News*, October 1981.

[24] Margaret Cahalan, "Trends in Incarceration in the United States since 1880," *Crime and Delinquency*, January 1979, p. 9.

[25] 1980-1981 *Statistical Report* of Pennsylvania Bureau of Corrections.

[26] "The Effect of Prison Overcrowding on Inmate Behavior," National Institute of Justice, 1981.

[27] The more famous episodes took place at Attica Prison in New York in 1973 and the New Mexico State Prison in 1980. In November 1981, several inmates took over the Graterford State Prison in Pennsylvania and held hostages for almost a week.

[28] Much of the information and data in this section was inspired by *Ebony Magazine*'s "Special Issue: Black on Black Crime," August, 1979.

[29] Horace G. Ogden, "Violence: A National Public Health Issue," excerpts from a speech reprinted in *Justice Assistance News*, October 1981, p. 2.

[30] Scott Christianson, "Our Black Prisons," *Crime and Delinquency*, October 1980.

[31] See 1981 *Statistical Report* of the Pennsylvania Bureau of Corrections.

[32] "Crime in Communities: Blacks Pursue More Active Role in Dealing with Crime by Blacks," Philadelphia *Bulletin*, November 7, 1980.

[33] Matthew Yeager, "Unemployment and Imprisonment," 70 *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology* 586 (1979). But see, Allen D. Calvin, "Unemployment Among Black Youths, Demographics and Crime," *Crime and Delinquency*, April 1981, p. 234.

[34] Philadelphia *Bulletin*, October 28, 1981.

[35] "Prison Overcrowding: A Closer Look at the Problem and Approaches to its Solution." A study done by the Philadelphia Criminal Justice Coordinating Office, July 1981.

[36] Anthony E. Jackson, "Criminal Justice and Black Philadelphia," *The State of Black Philadelphia, 1981*.

[37] "For Minorities Progress Slow in Police Work," Philadelphia Inquirer, September 27, 1981.

[38] "Coalition of black leaders joining the city's hunt for 'wolf packs'," The Bulletin, November 27, 1980. See also, "Crime in Communities: Black Pursue More Active Role in Dealing with Crime by Blacks," The Bulletin, November 7, 1980.

[39] The efforts of the mothers in the Richard Allen Homes to get better police protection and law enforcement against the drug traffic in their neighborhood is an example of this effort.

HIGHER EDUCATION AMONG BLACKS IN PHILADELPHIA

by

Dr. Jean E. Moore

In an era of rapidly shrinking resources, with issues of basic survival plaguing the black and poor community, one might wonder whether the pursuit of higher education is a luxury. Why should money or energy be applied to a perhaps distant aspiration in communities where employment, housing and health are among fundamental needs?

To rise from a poor and desperate existence to a more comfortable and rewarding circumstance is a dream not limited to America's majority population. It is a hope that black parents harbor for their children, and indeed that many hold wistfully for themselves. It is a goal that can be achieved through education.

In 1971 a conference on Black Higher Education was held in Harrisburg. A set of specific recommendations was submitted to the State Board of Education for the 1971 Master Plan for Higher Education in Pennsylvania. Although hard data from colleges generally were not kept according to race during that time, most of the members of the conference were painfully aware of the lack of appreciable black presence on the various Pennsylvania college campuses by observation alone — as to students, faculty and staff.

To assure that the number of black students in every incoming class at state-owned, state-related and state-aided institutions reflected at least the proportion of black population in the State of Pennsylvania, several detailed recommendations were made for a Commission of Minority Affairs, an Institute for Black Research and Statistics, Educational Policy (of the higher education institutions within the Commonwealth), Recruitment Admissions and Retention, Curricula, Personnel, Continuing Education and Funding.

The Black Conference on Higher Education developed from the original 1971 meeting and continues working across the state and through regional arrangements on issues affecting blacks in higher education.

The early 1970s marked the push for affirmative action and "special" programs, although already, the heyday of the Great Society programs was ending. Philadelphia's Model Cities program was in its decline. The scene was shifting from the streets to campuses.

BLACK STUDENTS IN PHILADELPHIA COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES AND OTHER POST-SECONDARY SCHOOLS

In 1980, black students at Temple University comprised 5,424 out of 33,158 students, or 16 percent of the student body, the highest proportion of black students on any of the three predominantly white state-related university campuses in Pennsylvania.

The Pennsylvania State University had 2-1/2 percent black students — 1,626 out of 62,571, and the University of Pittsburgh had eight percent or 2,829 out of 34,967 students. Only Lincoln University, the fourth state-related university had a larger proportion of black students. An historically black school, Lincoln University had 1,111 black students out of 1,294 students, or 86 percent of the student body.[1] (Department of Education, 1981).

Philadelphia Community College listed 12,199 students, with 60 percent, or 7,887 black students. The Philadelphia Community College now is categorized as a Newer Predominantly Black College (NPBC).[2] (U.S Department of Education National Committee, 1979).

Of the 10 listed private, state-aided institutions in Philadelphia, the two with the largest black student representation were Drexel with seven percent or 893 of their 11,953 students listed as black and the University of Pennsylvania, with 1,196 or five percent of its total 22,611 students listed as black. St. Joseph's University, a private institution, reported 296 or six percent of its 5,352 students as black.[3] (Table III).

Post-secondary institutions include private junior colleges and proprietary schools. Pierce Junior College reports a 43 percent black enrollment or 925 out of 2,106 students. The proprietary schools of Antonelli (photography), as over 25 percent and Berean, with a long history in the black community, as 97 percent black enrollment. In contrast to the colleges and universities in Philadelphia, the proprietary schools generally report high black enrollments, although their total student bodies are comparatively insignificant in size. Most average around 200 students or less.

These enrollments indicate a significant increase over those of a decade ago when access programs first began to enlarge the presence of black students on the predominantly white campuses in Philadelphia.

Three educational institutions near Philadelphia include the historically black Cheyney State College and Lincoln University. The third is West Chester State College. Enrollment data for 1980 lists Cheyney with a total of 2,426 students of which 87 percent or 2,120 were black. West Chester State College listed 651 of its 8,081 students as black, or only seven percent. In fact, in all of Pennsylvania, blacks constituted 7.6 percent (or 37,206) of students enrolled in institutions of post-secondary education in 1978 and increased to 7.7 percent (or 39,434) of enrolled students in Pennsylvania in 1980.[4] (Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981).

Overall, in 1980 there were 103,063 students in the 33 Philadelphia based schools; 10,258 or 10 percent were black students.

Temple University, the one state-related institution, with 16 percent blacks and Philadelphia Community College, with 60 percent blacks, had the largest proportion of non-white students. Both schools have black enrollments of well above the state average of seven percent.

State-aided and private colleges fell somewhat below the state average. In fact, the Philadelphia Community College has 7,887 blacks compared to a total of 10,258 black students in all of the other 31 post-secondary schools in Philadelphia. Put another way, in the 33 listed post-secondary institutions in Philadelphia, there were 17,425 black students of which 45 percent (7,887) were in the Philadelphia Community College. (See Table III).

PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES

According to the Philadelphia School District's survey of the nearly 11,000 high school students who were graduated in 1979, slightly more black than white graduates were enrolled in schools and colleges (68.1 percent to 64.3 percent). Of 5,925 black graduates in 1979, 4,035 were continuing their education. This is in contrast to 1971 when "only 48.2 percent of the black graduates continued their education immediately after high school."[5] (Philadelphia School District, 1979).

Many more whites than blacks were working while continuing their education (28.3 percent to 19.9 percent).[6] (Ibid., p. 4).

This source also indicates "that three-quarters of the whites (who) were continuing their education were doing so in the Philadelphia area while 39 percent of the black graduates were enrolled in schools and colleges elsewhere in Pennsylvania and out of state."[7] (Ibid., p. 21).

This would suggest that about 61 percent of those Philadelphia blacks going to college or other post-secondary education (as of 1979) were remaining in the Philadelphia area. However, a review of the level of black enrollment in the Philadelphia (city) colleges should not be interpreted to reflect a representation of Philadelphia youth. Many black students in post-secondary institutions in Philadelphia come from other parts of the country, just as many Philadelphia black youth attend schools and colleges in other parts of the Commonwealth or the country.

Although specific data were not available, analysis of the population statistics suggests that large numbers of Philadelphia's white high school students are enrolled in the non-public schools. This greatly enlarges the proportion of white high school graduates attending college — substantiated as data are viewed from the perspective of college enrollments. The distribution of 1979 black and white high school graduates indicates that:

> The respondents were attending four year colleges, two year community and junior colleges and business, technical and nursing schools. Included in this group are students enrolled in any type of program from a single course to a full credit semester in either schools or colleges. Sixty-six percent of this group were attending four year institutions. A greater proportion of senior high graduates, whites and males were enrolled in four year colleges. Approximately one quarter of the voc/tech graduates, blacks and females were students in two year colleges. One fifth of the voc/tech graduates were enrolled in business, technical and nursing schools, a higher proportion for this group than any other. (1979 School District Survey, May 1980).

In essence, although figures suggest that a larger percentage of black Philadelphia high school graduates are attending post-secondary education, more precise study is required to determine the extent to which such attendance actually involves enrollment towards a specific certification or degree.

The "Special" Programs

The increased presence of blacks on predominantly white campuses has been due in large part to the "special" programs of higher education over the last decade. This is the result of a press for affirmative action and in response to the unrest of the 1960's, particularly in urban areas. These programs include federal, state, and local governmental approaches, as well as programs indigenous to specific campuses, most on soft money but occasionally on the hard budget of the institution. Most programs begun in response to the pressures and assertions of black students or the Philadelphia black community. Some were started as farsighted attempts to deflect community restiveness, others were aimed at remedying past inequities. None of the programs have survived without the constant vigilance of a core of concerned students, faculty, staff and communities. Some have failed to survive for many reasons, including the changing concept of "disadvantagement."

Federal Programs

The federal programs found on Philadelphia campuses include Upward Bound and Special Services for the Disadvantaged. Along with the generally off-campus Talent Search program (one currently operating by Opportunities Industrialization Center in Philadelphia), they are known as the Trio programs.

The fourth major federal program is the Educational Opportunity Center Program of which 32 exist nationally — two now in Pennsylvania.

Philadelphia's unique Educational Opportunity Center (PEOC) is funded from the federal government through Temple University to a sponsoring consortium including Temple University, the Philadelphia Community College, the National Scholarship Service and Fund for Negro Students (NSSFNS), ASPIRA of Pennsylvania and the Delaware Valley Regional Planning Council for Higher Education (79 institutions of higher education) Region I.

The Center provided services to 18,900 persons. More than 12,000 individuals have received information and help in securing financial aid. Tutorial services have been rendered to 290 enrolled students.

Data on black Philadelphians entering post-secondary institutions is important since it reflects in microcosm the choices of residents in the Philadelphia community.

Over twice as many persons went to predominantly white colleges outside of the city of Philadelphia, in fact, covering some 83 different institutions across over a dozen states. The distribution of students across Philadelphia universities and colleges, two year colleges and the historically black colleges is somewhat evenly spread. Perhaps this suggests that these schools may have similar drawing power for students. Lastly, the presence of the trade, technical vocational post-secondary schools although relatively small, is a growing and productive area, as they link with the developing trade and technological services.

Because the Philadelphia EOC is not campus based, it aims to respond to client need and does not attempt to funnel students based on institutional pressures.

Some 189 adults were placed by the PEOC, indicating that there is indeed a continuing thrust by adults towards continuing their education at a post-secondary level, even within the "disadvantaged" communities of Philadelphia.

The following Trio programs are operating in Philadelphia:

1980 - 1981

Talent Search -	Opportunities Industrial Center
Upward Bound -	Community College of Philadelphia Drexel University University of Pennsylvania Temple University
Special Services for Disadvantaged Students -	Community College of Philadelphia Drexel University Philadelphia School of Office Training
Educational Opportunity -	Temple University in consortium with Community College of Philadelphia, NSSFNS, ASPIRA, and Delaware Valley Regional Planning Council of Higher Education

These programs all are in jeopardy given the cutbacks in federal allocations based on the Reagan Administration's budget. Only continued alertnes and contact with federal administrative and congressional representatives will enable the continuity of these valuable aids to higher education for blacks and other disadvantaged persons.

State Programs

The Act 101 program, the primary state funded program in Pennsylvania dealing with disadvantaged students was introduced to the legislature in 1971 and established as Public Law 423, primarily through the efforts of Allegheny County Representative K. Leroy Irvis. Supported entirely by state funds (current level $4.7 million), it provides "for Commonwealth support for institutions of higher education to furnish learning and special counselling services for undergraduate students whose cultural, economic and educational disadvantages impair their ability to pursue successfully higher education opportunities . . ."[8] (Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981, p. 1).

Currently there are 67 Act 101 programs on different campuses across the state with 11 in Philadelphia colleges and other post-secondary schools, enabling retention and graduation of minorities and poor whites who are both educationally and economically disadvantaged. "Students are chosen on the basis of their potential, their motivation and their goals rather than on the traditional college board scores." (Ibid., p. 1). Supportive services include "counselling and tutorial support necessary for acquiring essential skills for graduation." Over 25,000 Pennsylvanians have been served by Act 101. The most recent published data (1978-79) indicates that of the 1,148 students on the 11 Philadelphia campuses housing Act 101 programs there were 704 (61 percent) black enrollees. There were a total of 4,533 black students in Act 101 programs across the state or 55 percent of the total Act 101 students. Overall retention rate for Act 101 admitted students in the state is listed as 80-85 percent.[9] (Ibid., p. 1).

Community colleges, with their open admission by policy, have played an important role in higher education for blacks. Many issues surround community colleges nationally. They are said to have high drop out rates, inadequate remediation and problems in transferability of credits.[10] (Watson). Increasing linkages have developed between the Philadelphia Community College and other four year institutions. However, a great deal more needs to happen to assure the educational continuum between the two year and the four year institutions.

Given the increasingly high tuition of four year institutions and the decreasing amounts of financial aid from governmental resources, it is likely that blacks will find it increasingly difficult to attend the out-of-reach high tuition four year colleges and universitities. Access through the two year institution must not be an end in itself for those who want to go further.

Pennsylvania Higher Education Assistance Agency (PHEAA) financial aid programs now constitute a major source of funds for thousands of poor and minority students throughout the Commonwealth, buttressed by the federal financial aid programs of loans and grants.

These include the Basic Educational Opportunity Grant (BEOG), Supplementary Educational Opportunity Grants (SEOG), National Defense Student Loan and the Guaranteed Student Loan.

All of these funding programs are in a state of indecisiveness as to rules, regulations and future levels and control mechanisms given the changes in federal policies and procedures. Since 48 percent of black first-time freshmen nationally at either black or white institutions come from families where the estimated parental income is $8,000 or less, it is clear that any decreases in available financial aid will reduce the already limited numbers of blacks in higher education.

Campus Programs and Outcomes

Campus oriented programs, particularly at Temple University, deserve some specific comment, given the comparatively large number of black students enrolled. Two existing programs began activities at Temple during the 1969-1970 academic year. They are the university-wide Special Recruitment and Admissions Program (SRAP) and, within the School of Social Administration, the New Career Ladders in Social Welfare program. The former (SRAP) was funded and maintained on university monies; the latter, funded initially under Titles IVA and XX of the Social Security Act through the state's Department of Public Welfare, currently is maintained by university funds and services. Temple also maintains an umbrella model, the Russell Conwell Center, into which all other support programs for special undergraduate students fall including Upward Bound, Special Service for Disadvantaged Students, Bio-Medical Science program and the State's Act 101 program. University funds and other resources amplify this center, incorporating services for Temple's students who are admitted through the university's alternate admissions process and services to adult men and women.

Varieties of programs on different campuses are responsible largely for the increased numbers of black students. However, academically prepared black students also comprise a sizable part of the black student presence on Philadelphia campuses. It is important to make this point, since the assumption that all black students require remediation is a mistaken one. Additionally, poor whites, many whom do not qualify for regular admission are also alternatively admitted.

Alternative admissions in no way suggests lack of intellectual ability to perform. Studies on retention rates, on academic achievements and on post-graduate performance show the high comparability achievement-wise and often higher retention rate for the alternative admit student, minority or white to the "regular" admit student.

The fact is that as of the last available data (1978-1979) degree awards to blacks in Pennsylvania had increased for all categories. As might be anticipated from the earlier data, blacks were represented at the highest percentage in the Associate Degrees — with 9.9 percent of the associate degrees awarded, a total of 1,714 degrees going to blacks. Bachelor's degrees were awarded to 2,324 black men and women in Pennsylvania colleges and universities representing 4.3 percent of the bachelor degrees awarded. Philadelphia college data were not listed by race.[11] (Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1980, p. iii).

Graduate and Advanced Degrees

"The issue of black participation in higher education is especially critical at the graduate and professional levels.

"At the advanced degree level the continuation of minimal representation of blacks in almost all fields and especially in science and engineering necessitates further efforts to expand opportunities for blacks to pursue graduate study and professional careers."[12] (A Losing Battle: The Decline in Black Participation in Graduate and Professional Education, National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education, p. 1). Nationally, the percentage of blacks among first-year medical students declined from 7.5 percent (1,106) in 1974-1975 to 6.5 percent in 1979-1980.

Black Law School members of first-year classes also showed a serious decline "from 2,128 in 19976-1977 to 2,002 in 1978-1980, a span in which total first-year law enrollment grew by 1.8 percent." The historically black colleges still are responsible for large numbers of black professionals accounting for 21.8 percent of black awarded degrees in medicine and 15.8 percent of blacks receiving law degrees and 40.2 percent of blacks receiving dental degrees.[13] (Ibid., p. 13).

During 1978-1979 in Pennsylvania, 94 blacks were listed as receiving law degrees, 13 in denistry, 58 in medicine. Across all professional degree groupings, 188 blacks received professional degrees; at the academic doctorate level across all fields (excluding the professional) only 45 blacks were noted as receiving degrees. Academic master's degrees awarded to blacks across all fields totaled 725 persons. Programs within the Philadelphia area concentrating on the recruitment and preparation of blacks for professional education include the American Foundation for Negro Affairs (AFNA) that has an extensive program for young blacks aspiring to education in medicine and law. Additionally, the medical and law schools at Temple University have developed overall recruitment and admissions programs that have resulted in greater equity for minorities and women.

The Graduate and Professional Opportunity Program (GPOP) which began in 1978-1979 by the federal government aims at providing tuition assistance to traditionally underrepresented minorities and females. With the inclusion of women, large numbers of whites are in the program. Thus, it is possible that a thrust originally aimed at minorities has been diluted.[14] (Acciss, pp. 40-43). "The major reason for the lack of black participation in advanced study appears to be the financial obstacles in the paths of black students, evidenced by patterns of inequity in the awarding of Federal and institutional financial support . . ."[15] (Ibid., p. 2).

The following recommendations, by the National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education, appear particularly cogent.[16] (The Losing Battle, p. 17).

- That graduate and professional schools assume the initiative for increasing black participation since theirs is the responsibility for selection and that faculty and administrative staff at predominantly white institutions become active in recruiting black students into underrepresented fields.

- That racial and economic biases be eliminated from the admissions image and that institutions increase black representation at the faculty and administrative levels to enhance their awareness of the situation facing black students.

- That the testing industry be made accountable and examinations be made available after their use. That efforts to eliminate racial and economic biases in test instruments be intensified and low-cost, test-taking seminars be sponsored by joint efforts of institutions and testing industry.

- That testing be complemented with other criteria such as structured recommendations in the assessment of black students in the selection process:

    - Through the use of varied admissions criteria until such time as equity exists; and

    - Through the extension of efforts such as the Simulated Minority Admission Exercise (SMAE) of the Association of American Medical Colleges and the Special Admissions and Curriculum Experimental Program (SPACE) at Temple University, to increase graduate and professional school awareness of the value of non-cognitive data in the prediction of academic success.

Faculty

Nationally, blacks make up less than 4.5 percent of all faculty in higher education, and of these, 39 percent are employed in historically black colleges. Of significance is that "collectively, the black colleges employed 39 percent of all black faculty in higher education in 1976, and while less than 5 percent of all faculty in higher education was black, almost 40 percent of faculty in black colleges was white."[17] (Black Fact Sheets, 1980, 1981).

The Eastern Region of the Pennsylvania Black Conference on Higher Education developed an Eastern Regional Directory of blacks in higher education (administrative as well as faculty) during 1975. Twenty-seven colleges in the eastern region (including 12 in Philadelphia) are listed. Cheyney State College, Community College of Philadelphia, Temple University and University of Pennsylvania listed large numbers of blacks in a variety of departments and positions. Many of these, however, were on soft money positions which were administrative in nature.

As for faculty, the earlier comment cited still prevails, particularly in four year institutions where black faculty are a "rare" breed. The most recent aggregate data available for black faculty at 18 institutions within Philadelphia is for 1977. The overall average is four percent black faculty. However, six institutions had no full-time black faculty, while four had no black faculty at all.

Aggregate data on college administrators are not available, but no college or university in Philadelphia has or has had a black chief executive officer. Temple University's Dr. Bernard Watson, had the only black vice president in any such institution in 1980-1981 in Philadelphia. Since Watson moved over to become president of the William Penn Foundation last year, there is no black at any college or university at the vice presidential level. None enjoy a higher standing in Philadelphia.

CONCLUSION

Higher education in Philadelphia and nationally is in a state of crisis. This condition stems from the financial constraints caused by generally decreasing high school age enrollments, spiraling costs to institutions and diminishing financial resources for institutions and for students. Consequently, many colleges and universities are cutting programs and staff considered peripheral to the core mission of higher education institutions, a mission often seen as teaching and research. As a result, a major issue for blacks in higher education revolves around the continued struggle, now exacerbated, of maintaining services for poor and inadequately prepared college students. Equally important is the need for improvement and continuation of sound basic education within the city of Philadelphia to assure future well prepared high school graduates.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Students:

- Continuing the recruitment and admission of students by criteria alternative to standardized testing.
- Maintaining and increasing the retention and gains of black presence at all levels of the educational continuum.

Faculty:

- Protecting the appointments of the limited number of black faculty on college campuses, given the tendency for reduction in force to be implemented on a "life" level, that is, last in, first out. Affirmative action not having the highest priority, the struggle is developing into a difficult one, that will only get worse as tenured faculty become a budget-cut target.

Financial Aid:

- Vigilantly pressing for the continuation of full and equitable aid and policies that will assure that resources are made available to those who need them most.

Support Program Staff:

- Helping institutions avoid a penny-wise, pound-foolish approach to staff cut backs. Revolving doors will exist for students who are not provided adequate advisement, counselling and academic tutorial services.

Government:

- Staying politically alert and involved on all levels of government. The federal involvement on behalf of minorities and the poor has been a major factor in civil rights and affirmation of equity. Given the conservative mood swing now implemented by the legal transfer of many powers to the state level of government, along with the demise of funds, a basic issue in black education revolves around continued assurance of equity of education. The emergence of a conservative wing of black academics allied with existing Reagonomicians is a formidable duo. Blacks must stay politically alert and involved on all levels of government and not retreat. Social and economic issues are intertwined with all aspects of black education. Blacks must be included in top college governance.

Academic Issues:

- Acknowledging the important role of all post-secondary institutional levels. The financial investment in tuition (loans, grants, out-of-pocket) has reached staggering proportions for persons going to school. With the cut back in social and other service industry programs, the decision to go to school is an even more serious one than ever before. How persons are aided in making decisions as to career directions, institutional types — two year, trade-vocational technical, four year — and beyond that, choice of fields . . . business, computers, engineering . . . the growing areas . . . is a heavy responsibility. This is a major concern in today's choices for blacks.

- Blacks ought not get lulled into assumptions that "college doesn't mean anything anymore," because "there are too many college graduates." We must not ignore basic fields of the sciences, mathematics and humanities. At the same time realistic recognition must be given to the importance of new and developing job preparatory skill areas that can be woven into the fabric of educational curricula selections. Trade and technical schools should not be denigrated. However, the importance of continued graduate and advanced degree professional education should never waiver. Preparatory to all of this is the importance of a sound basic public elementary and secondary school system.

Heritage:

- Being black. This is not as fashionable as it was on campuses a decade ago. There has been some slippage in dealing with the knowledge of pride and heritage, just as the "black caucuses" of faculties and students have diminished in numbers and popularity. With a view toward "integrating" or "institutionalizing programs," sometimes the intent and mission of programs have been lost. Finding the political balance of weaving in black and minority concerns with those of other underrepresented groups can be a good strategy; sometimes, however, it can be a fatal pitfall in which the "quid" doesn't get the "quo."

Commitment:

- Continuing a never failing commitment to the concern of the black and the disadvantaged community. Institutions of higher education must be developed to continue their presence and commitment in the Philadelphia community and to share their skills, leadership and resources with the community.

Self-Help:

- Helping ourselves. Notwithstanding the need to strongly press for the development and continuation of government resources and institutionally supported programs that are responsive to the black and the poor, we must always be about the business of helping ourselves. We must tap those vast resoures that do exist within our communities. Our alumni who have "taken" must learn the joy and responsibility of "giving," both of themselves and of their "worldly goods." They must discover that just as other former black students and leaders led the struggle during decades past, they too now are a part of a heritage. They must help others in the black community by providing role models and continued involvement in the support of black higher education.

TABLE I

PERCENTAGE AND FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTIONS OF BLACKS ENROLLED IN COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES, BY TYPE OF INSTITUTION,* FALL 1976

	Total Black Enrollment (all institutions)		Percent Enrolled in			Percent Black Students of All Higher Education Students	Number of Institutions			
Type of Institution	Number	Percent	HBC's	NBPC's	Other Than HBC's/NPBC's		All	HBC's	NPBC's	Other Than HBC's/NPBC's
All Institutions	1,034,680	100.0	17.8	11.9	70.3	9.3	3,074	102	42	2,930
Public	832,866	100.0	14.8	13.5	71.7	9.6	1,467	40	26	1,401
Private	201,814	100.0	29.9	5.4	64.7	8.4	1,607	62	16	1,529
All Universities	150,217	100.0	8.1	—	91.9	5.4	161	2	—	159
Public	104,908	100.0	4.7	—	95.3	5.0	96	1	—	95
Private	45,309	100.0	16.0	—	84.0	6.5	95	1	—	64
All Four-Year	455,170	100.0	35.9	5.5	58.6	10.4	1,767	84	11	1,672
Public	318,499	100.0	35.4	6.5	58.1	11.2	462	34	6	422
Private	136,671	100.0	37.1	3.2	59.7	8.9	1,305	50	5	1,250
All Two-Year	429,293	100.0	1.9	22.9	75.2	11.0	1,146	16	31	1,099
Public	409,459	100.0	1.5	22.4	76.1	10.9	909	5	20	884
Private	19,384	100.0	11.7	32.3	56.0	13.2	237	11	11	215

Source: Committee Staff analysis of DHEW National Center for Education Statistics data from Fall 1976 HEGIS Survey.

* **HBC = Historically Black Colleges** (excludes 3 HBC's which were predominantly white in 1976 - see page 20).
NPBC = Newer Predominantly Black Colleges (see page 20 for definition).

** Access of Black Americans to Higher Education: How Open Is the Door?, National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, January 1979.

TABLE II

PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF TOTAL BLACK HIGHER EDUCATION ENROLLMENT, BY LEVEL OF INSTITUTION*, FALL, 1976

Type of Institution	All Black Students in Higher Education	Blacks in HBC's	Blacks in other than HBC's	Blacks in NPBC's	Blacks in HBC's & NPBC's	Blacks in Other than HBC's & NPBC's
ALL INSTITUTIONS	1,034,680	183,891	850,789	123,263	307,154	727,526
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Universities	14.5	6.6	16.2	—	4.0	19.0
Four-Year Colleges	44.0	88.8	34.3	20.3	61.3	36.7
Two-Year Colleges	41.5	4.5	49.5	79.7	34.7	44.4
PUBLIC INSTITUTIONS	832,866	123,577	709,289	112,464	236,041	596,825
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Universities	12.6	4.0	14.1	—	2.1	16.7
Four-Year Colleges	38.2	91.1	29.0	18.3	56.4	31.0
Two-Year Colleges	49.2	4.9	56.9	81.7	41.5	52.2
PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS	201,814	60,314	141,500	10,799	71,113	130,701
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Universities	22.5	12.0	26.9	—	10.2	29.1
Four-Year Colleges	67.7	84.2	60.7	40.6	77.6	62.4
Two-Year Colleges	9.8	3.8	12.4	59.4	12.3	8.5

Source: Committee Staff analysis of data from the DHEW National Center for Education Statistics.

*HBC = **Historically Black Colleges** (excludes 3 HBC's which are predominantly white in 1976 — see page 20).
NPBC = **Newer Predominantly Black Colleges** (see page 20 for definition).

**Access of Black Americans to Higher Education: How Open is the Door?, National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, January 1979.

TABLE III

FALL COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA BY RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORY AND SEX BY INSTITUTION AND ENROLLMENT STATUS, 1980

Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981

	Total All Students		Non-Resident Alien		Black Non-Hispanic		American Indian or Alaskan Native		Asian or Pacific Islander		Hispanic		White Non-Hispanic	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
State Colleges and Universities (14)*														
None														
State-Related Commonwealth Universities (1)														
Temple University	33,158	16,274	23	7	5,424	3,481	172	92	584	252	538	285	26,417	12,157
Full-Time	19,174	9,061	23	7	3,235	2,102	68	43	367	158	355	184	15,126	6,567
Part-Time	13,984	7,213	—	—	2,189	1,379	104	49	217	94	183	101	11,291	5,590
Community Colleges (1)														
Community College of Philadelphia	13,199	8,677	7	—	7,887	5,188	65	42	385	252	526	346	4,329	2,849
Full-Time	4,733	2,959	6	—	2,849	1,769	22	13	140	86	190	118	1,566	973
Part-Time	8,426	5,718	1	—	5,038	3,419	43	29	245	166	336	228	2,763	1,876
Private State-Aided Institutions (9)														
Drexel University	11,953	3,476	294	59	893	444	8	3	380	81	89	29	10,289	2,860
Full-Time	7,554	2,280	231	40	627	317	6	2	303	68	60	22	6,327	1,831
Part-Time	4,399	1,196	63	19	266	127	2	1	77	13	29	7	3,962	1,029
Hahnemann Medical College and Hospital	1,845	1,043	22	11	170	126	4	4	26	14	23	13	1,600	875
Full-Time	1,700	926	21	11	161	121	3	3	26	14	21	11	1,468	766
Part-Time	145	117	1		9	5	1	1	—	—	2	2	132	109
Philadelphia College of Osteopathic Medicine	820	155	—	—	15	4	—	—	1	1	3	—	801	150
Full-Time	820	155	—	—	15	4	—	—	1	1	3	—	801	150
Part-Time	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

*Numbers in parentheses ( ) equal total in Pennsylvania.

TABLE III

FALL COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA BY RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORY AND SEX BY INSTITUTION AND ENROLLMENT STATUS, 1980

Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981

	Total All Students		Non-Resident Alien		Black Non-Hispanic		American Indian or Alaskan Native		Asian or Pacific Islander		Hispanic		White Non-Hispanic	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Private-State Aided Institutions (continued) (9)														
Medical College of Pennsylvania	524	308	3	—	12	10	2	2	8	7	—	—	499	289
Full-Time	493	282	3	—	11	10	2	2	8	8	—	—	469	263
Part-Time	31	26	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	26
Pennsylvania College of Optometry	589	119	2	—	10	7	—	—	18	9	9	3	550	100
Full-Time	589	119	2	—	10	7	—	—	18	9	9	3	550	100
Part-Time	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Philadelphia College of Art	2,150	1,335	42	25	146	73	—	—	9	6	19	9	1,934	1,222
Full-Time	1,117	650	40	24	101	48	—	—	7	5	13	6	956	567
Part-Time	1,033	685	2	1	45	25	—	—	2	1	6	3	978	655
Philadelphia College of the Performing Arts	364	190	13	8	55	30	—	—	5	4	6	1	285	147
Full-Time	318	170	13	8	50	26	—	—	4	3	6	1	245	132
Part-Time	46	20	—	—	5	4	—	—	1	1	—	—	40	15
Thomas Jefferson University	1,753	913	5	1	102	67	9	2	35	17	24	8	1,578	818
Full-Time	1,416	604	5	1	62	36	9	2	33	15	21	6	1,286	544
Part-Time	337	309	—	—	40	31	—	—	2	2	3	2	292	274
University of Pennsylvania	22,611	9,768	1,781	461	1,196	728	69	40	521	209	295	123	18,749	8,207
Full-Time	17,450	6,875	1,479	355	731	412	27	11	486	192	256	99	14,471	5,806
Part-Time	5,161	2,893	302	106	465	316	42	29	35	17	39	24	4,278	2,401

TABLE III

FALL COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA BY RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORY AND SEX BY INSTITUTION AND ENROLLMENT STATUS, 1980

Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981

	Total All Students		Non-Resident Alien		Black Non-Hispanic		American Indian or Alaskan Native		Asian or Pacific Islander		Hispanic		White Non-Hispanic	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Private Colleges and Universities (10)														
Combs College of Music	87	39	6	2	40	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	41	17
Full-Time	75	32	6	2	29	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	16
Part-Time	12	7	—	—	11	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
Curtis Institute of Music	160	80	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	160	80
Full-Time	160	80	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	160	80
Part-Time	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Gratz College	153	105	6	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	147	102
Full-Time	61	43	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	59	42
Part-Time	92	62	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	88	60
Moore College of Art	620	620	5	5	49	49	—	—	6	6	10	10	550	550
Full-Time	527	527	3	3	45	45	—	—	4	4	8	8	467	467
Part-Time	93	93	2	2	4	4	—	—	2	2	2	2	83	83
New School of Music	81	42	8	5	4	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	67	36
Full-Time	81	42	8	5	4	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	67	36
Part-Time	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Philadelphia College of Pharmacy & Science	1,144	539	15	5	19	13	1	1	14	9	7	1	1,088	510
Full-Time	1,083	509	14	5	19	13	1	1	13	9	6	1	1,030	480
Part-Time	61	30	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	58	30
Reconstructionist Rabbinical College	40	16	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	40	16
Full-Time	39	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	39	15
Part-Time	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1

TABLE III

FALL COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA BY RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORY AND SEX BY INSTITUTION AND ENROLLMENT STATUS, 1980

Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981

	Total All Students		Non-Resident Alien		Black Non-Hispanic		American Indian or Alaskan Native		Asian or Pacific Islander		Hispanic		White Non-Hispanic	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Private Colleges and Universities (continued)														
St. Joseph's University	5,352	2,512	174	59	296	175	8	4	36	10	50	27	4,788	2,237
Full-Time	5,584	1,056	95	28	115	63	4	1	16	4	42	23	2,312	937
Part-Time	2,768	1,456	79	31	181	112	4	3	20	6	8	4	2,476	1,300
Spring Garden College	1,157	223	46	9	67	27	—	—	9	3	5	2	1,030	182
Full-Time	721	128	42	8	38	20	—	—	7	3	5	2	629	95
Part-Time	436	95	4	1	29	7	—	—	2	—	-	—	401	87
Theological Seminaries (4)														
Faith theological Seminary	36	5	11	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	3
Full-Time	36	5	11	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	25	3
Part-Time	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Lutheran Theological Seminary-Phila.	217	65	1	—	17	3	—	—	3	2	3	2	193	58
Full-Time	126	47	1	—	5	2	—	—	2	2	2	2	116	41
Part-Time	91	18	—	—	12	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	77	17
Theological Seminary of the Reformed Episcopal Church	67	6	2	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	55	6
Full-Time	65	5	2	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	53	5
Part-Time	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	1

TABLE III

FALL COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA BY RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORY AND SEX BY INSTITUTION AND ENROLLMENT STATUS, 1980

Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981

	Total All Students		Non-Resident Alien		Black Non-Hispanic		American Indian or Alaskan Native		Asian or Pacific Islander		Hispanic		White Non-Hispanic	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Theological Seminaries (continued)														
Westminster Theological Seminary	386	23	41	3	10	—	1	—	15	3	1	—	318	17
Full-Time	255	15	38	3	6	—	1	—	9	2	—	—	201	10
Part-Time	131	8	3	—	4	—	—	—	6	1	1	—	117	7
Private Junior Colleges (1)														
Pierce Junior College	2,106	1,573	15	5	925	759	4	1	14	8	30	25	1,118	775
Full-Time	1,360	1,035	12	4	615	494	1	1	10	5	19	17	703	514
Part-Time	746	538	3	1	310	265	3	—	4	3	11	8	415	261
Proprietary Schools (7)														
Antonelli School of Photography	294	105	—	—	74	19	—	—	2	1	2	—	216	85
Full-Time	231	89	—	—	53	16	—	—	2	1	2	—	174	72
Part-Time	63	16	—	—21	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	42	13
Art Institute of Philadelphia	352	205	—	—	58	32	1	1	2	2	4	1	287	169
Full-Time	343	196	—	—	57	31	—	—	2	2	4	1	280	162
Part-Time	9	9	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	7	7
Berean Institute	151	93	—	—	146	92	—	—	1	—	4	1	—	—
Full-Time	117	68	—	—	114	68	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	—
Part-Time	34	25	—	—	32	24	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	—

TABLE III

FALL COLLEGE ENROLLMENTS IN INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER EDUCATION IN PHILADELPHIA BY RACIAL/ETHNIC CATEGORY AND SEX BY INSTITUTION AND ENROLLMENT STATUS, 1980

Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981

	Total All Students		Non-Resident Alien		Black Non-Hispanic		American Indian or Alaskan Native		Asian or Pacific Islander		Hispanic		White Non-Hispanic	
	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female	Total	Female
Proprietary Schools (continued)														
Lyons Technical Institute-Phila.	72	4	—	—	31	4	—	—	—	—	14	—	27	—
Full-Time	72	4	—	—	32	4	—	—	—	—	14	—	27	—
Part-Time	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
McCarrie Schools, Inc.	118	70	—	—	27	16	4	—	5	3	7	4	75	47
Full-Time	112	67	—	—	26	16	4	—	4	2	7	4	71	45
Part-Time	6	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	4	2
Philadelphia School of Office Training	367	336	—	—	297	274	1	1	1	1	2	1	66	59
Full-Time	367	366	—	—	297	74	1	1	1	1	2	1	66	59
Part-Time	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Tracey-Warner School	113	101	—	—	87	78	—	—	1	1	—	—	25	22
Full-Time	113	101	—	—	87	78	—	—	1	1	—	—	25	22
Part-Time	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Private Colleges and Universities														
Chestnut Hill College	1,024	996	9	9	68	66	—	—	9	7	52	52	886	862
Full-Time	670	668	9	9	51	51	—	—	7	6	46	46	557	556
Part-Time	354	328	—	—	17	15	—	—	2	1	6	6	329	306
Total	103,063													

TABLE VI*

RACIAL (ETHNIC) DISTRIBUTION OF 1978-79 ACT 101 PARTICIPANTS MEETING OR FAILING TO MEET TWO POSSIBLE QUALITY POINT AVERAGE CRITERIA

Criterion Values	Total	Black	White	Hispanic	Asian-Pacific	American Indian-Alaskan	Other
I. Quality Point Average Criterion of 1.90							
A. Numerical Count							
1.90 or Higher	5,335	2,650	2,345	223	104	5	8
Below 1.90	2,326[1]	1,654	680	71	19	1	0
Total	7,761[1]	4,304	3,025	294	123	6	8
B. Percentages[2]							
1.90 or Higher	68.7	61.6	77.5	75.8	84.5	83.3	100.0
	(100.0)	(49.7)	(44.0)	(4.2)	(1.9)	(0.1)	(0.1)
Below 1.9	31.3	38.4	22.5	24.2	15.5	16.7	0.0
	(100.0)	(68.2)	(28.0)	(2.9)	(0.8)	(0.1)	(0.0)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(100.0)	(55.4)	(39.0)	(1.6)	(0.1)	(0.1)	
II. Quality Point Average Criterion of 2.00							
A. Numerical Count							
2.00 or Higher	4,944	2,388	2,232	215	99	2	8
Below 2.00	2,817[1]	1,916	793	79	24	4	0
Total	7,761[1]	4,304	3,025	294	123	6	8
B. Percentages[2]							
2.00 or Higher	63.7	55.5	73.8	73.1	80.5	33.3	100.0
	(100.0)	(48.3)	(45.1)	(4.4)	(2.0)	(0.0)	(0.2)
Below 2.00	36.3	44.5	26.2	26.9	19.5	66.7	0.0
	(100.0)	(68.0)	(28.2)	(2.8)	(0.9)	(0.9)	(0.0)
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
	(100.0)	(55.4)	(39.0)	(3.8)	(1.6)	(0.1)	(01.)

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*1978-79 Higher Education Equal Opportunity Program Survey Findings, Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981.

[1] Includes one case where race (ethnic) identity was not reported.

[2] The values in parentheses represent the percentage of distribution of the colum variable of racial (ethnic) origin for a given criterion standard white; those not in parentheses represent the percentage passing or failing the criterion in question for that particular racial (ethnic) origin.

TABLE VII*

RACE (ETHNIC) DISTRIBUTION BY INCOME OF 1978-79 ACT 101 PARTICIPANTS

	Total	$0,000–2,999	$3,000–5,999	$6,000–7,999	$8,000–9,999	$10,000–and Up	Estimated Median Income
A. Numerical Count							
Black	4,492	1,306	1,361	797	601	427	$5,074
White	3,152	829	816	613	433	461	5,748
Hispanic	324	107	113	47	32	25	4,473
Asian-Pacific	126	43	29	26	21	7	5,120
American Indian-Alaskan	6	3	1	0	0	2	4,500
Total	8,100	2,288	2,320	1,483	1,087	922	5,279
B. Percentages[1]							
Black	55.5	57.1	58.7	53.7	55.4	46.3	
	(100.0)	(29.1)	(30.3)	(17.7)	(13.4)	(9.5)	
White	38.9	36.2	35.2	41.3	39.8	50.0	
	(100.0)	(26.3)	(25.9)	(19.5)	(13.7)	(14.6)	
Hispanic	4.0	4.7	4.9	3.2	3.0	2.7	
	(100.0)	(33.0)	(34.9)	(14.5)	(9.9)	(7.7)	
Asian-Pacific	1.5	1.9	1.2	1.8	1.9	0.8	
	(100.0)	(34.1)	(23.0)	(20.6)	(16.7)	(5.6)	
American Indian-Alaskan	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	
	(100.0)	(50.0)	(16.7)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(33.3)	
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	
	(100.0)	(28.3)	(28.6)	(18.3)	(13.4)	(11.4)	

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*1978-79 Higher Education Equal Opportunity Program Survey Findings, Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981.

[1] The values in parentheses represent the percentage distribution of the column variable of background income for a given racial (ethnic) group of Act 101 students while those not in parentheses represent the percentage distribution of the row variable (racial/ethnic background) for a given level of background income.

TABLE VIII*

ACT 101 1978-79 PARTICIPANT REASONS FOR TERMINATION AND TERMINATION RATES BY RACE (ETHNIC) GROUPINGS

	Participant Total	Termination Total	Trans-fers	Em-ployed	Military Service	Health	Death	Finances	Aca-demic	Personal Reasons	Self-Withdrawal[1]
A. Numerical Count											
Black	4,483	864	83	45	6	36	5	35	222	245	187
White	3,167	535	62	57	2	32	2	13	92	158	117
Hispanic	324	77	10	18	2	3	0	2	6	26	10
Asian-Pacific	127	22	12	1	0	0	0	0	5	2	2
American Indian-Alaskan	6	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	8,107	1,499	168	121	10	71	7	50	325	431	316
B. Percentages[2]											
Black	100.0	19.3	1.9	1.0	0.1	0.8	0.1	0.8	5.0	5.5	4.2
			(9.6)	(5.2)	(0.7)	(4.2)	(0.6)	(4.0)	(25.7)	(28.4)	(21.6)
White	100.0	16.9	2.0	1.8	0.1	1.0	0.1	0.4	2.9	5.0	3.7
	(		(11.6)	(10.6)	(0.4)	(6.0)	(0.4)	(2.4)	(17.2)	(29.5)	(21.9)
Hispanic	100.0	23.8	3.1	5.5	0.6	0.9	0.0	0.6	1.9	8.0	3.1
			(13.0)	(23.4)	(2.6)	(3.9)	(0.0)	(2.6)	(7.8)	(33.8)	(13.0)
Asian-Pacific	100.0	17.3	9.4	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.9	1.6	1.6
			(55.0)	(4.5)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(22.7)	(9.1)	(9.1)
American-Indian	100.0	16.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Alaskan			(100.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)
Total	100.0	18.5	2.1	1.5	0.1	0.9	0.1	0.6	4.0	5.3	3.9
			(11.2)	(8.1)	(0.7)	(4.7)	(0.5)	(3.3)	(21.7)	(28.7)	(21.1)

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*1978-79 Higher Education Equal Opportunity Program Survey Findings, Pennsylvania Department of Education, 1981.

[1] Self-Withdrawal includes those students who left the program without giving a reason, i.e., reason unknown.

[2] The figures in parentheses indicates the proportion of all terminations. Those figures not in parentheses represent the proportion the terminees represented of all participants.

TABLE IX

PERCENT OF BLACK FACULTY IN PHILADELPHIA COLLEGES
DATA AVAILABLE AS OF FALL 1977
PENNSYLVANIA DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

	Full-Time			Part-Time			Total		
	All	Black		All	Black		All	Black	
College		#	%		#	%		#	%
Chestnut Hill	17	0	0	50	0	0	67	0	0
Community College of Phildelphia	386	47	12	296	31	10	682	78	11
Drexel University	314	6	2	145	9	6	459	15	3
Dropsie University	6	0	0	6	0	0	12	0	0
Hahnemann Medical College & Hospital	362	20	6	106	3	3	468	23	5
Holy Family College	42	2	5	46	3	8	78	5	6
Peirce Junior College	40	0	0	56	0	0	96	0	0
Pennsylvania College of Optometry	30	1	3	29	1	3	59	2	3
Philadelphia College of Art	70	1	1	113	5	4	183	6	3
Philadelphia College of Osteopathic Medicine	78	0	0	78	0	0	156	0	0
Philadelphia College of Pharmacy & Science	58	1	2	10	0	0	68	1	1
Philadelphia College of Textiles & Science	72	2	3	0	0	0	72	2	3
Philadelphia College of Performing Arts	10	0	0	66	1	2	76	1	1
St. Joseph's University	127	2	2	154	1	1	281	3	1
Spring Garden College	53	0	0	28	1	4	81	1	1
Temple University	1723	80	5	242	9	4	1965	89	5
Thomas Jefferson University	287	6	2	77	0	0	364	6	2
University of Pennsylvania	1482	27	2	data innacurate			1482	27	2
Totals 18	5187	195	4	1492	64	4	6649	259	4

% of Black faculty Range - (FT) from 0% to 12%
Range - (PT) from 0% to 10%

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APPENDIX A*

Historically and Predominantly Black Colleges

A significant number of black students in higher education still enroll in institutions which are predominantly black. There are two categories of predominantly black institutions used throughout this section (see Appendices A and B for listings). The following definitions (Blake, Lambert, & Martin, 1974) should be borne in mind by the reader.

Historically Black Colleges (HBC's). These are institutions that were founded primarily for black Americans although their charters were, in most instances, not exclusionary. These are institutions serving or identified with service to black Americans for at least two decades, with most being fifty to one hundred years old. The 102 HBC's citied in this report omit data from those HBC's which currently are predominantly white -- Lincoln University (Missouri); Bluefield State College, and West Virginia State College (West Virginia). The omission of these institutions does not negate their history and tradition as black colleges, however, in the strictest sense, they are not longer predominantly black and are not included in the main set of institutions defined as such.

	Percent Black of 1976 Total Enrollment	Percent Black of 1976 Full-Time Enrollment
Lincoln University (MO)	39.1	46.5
Bluefiled State College (WV)	18.4	21.7
West Virginia State College (WV)	20.8	27.4

Newer Predominantly Black Colleges (NPBC's). These are institutions which, for the most part, have been recently established and were founded for the general population but because of their geographical location are now predominantly black. They are referred to as NPBC's to distinguish them from historically black colleges. Whether or not a college is considered a newer predominantly black college in these data analyses depended on their Fall 1976 total **and** full-time enrollments being more than fifty percent black. Forty-two institutions qualified as NPBC's in 1976 based on that criteria.

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*Access of Black Americans to Higher Education: How Open Is the Door?, National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, January 1979.

APPENDIX B*

NEWER PREDOMINANTLY BLACK COLLEGES (NPBC's)

Name	City/State	Level	Control
American Baptist Theological Seminary	Nashville, Tennessee	4	Private
Atlanta Junior College	Atlanta, Georgia	2	Public
Bay College of Maryland	Baltimore, Maryland	2	Private
Beaufort Technical Education Center	Beaufort, South Carolina	2	Public
Central YMCA Community College	Chicago, Illinois	2	Private
Chicago State University	Chicago, Illinois	4	Public
City Colleges of Chicago			
Kenney-King	Chicago, Illinois	2	Public
Loop	Chicago, Illinois	2	Public
Malcolm X	Chicago, Illinois	2	Public
Olive-Harvey	Chicago, Illinois	2	Public
City University of New York			
Medgar Evers	New York, New York	4	Public
College for Human Service	New York, New York	2	Private
College of the Virgin Islands	St. Thomas, Virgin Isl.	4	Public
Collegiate Institute	New York, New York	2	Private
Community College of Baltimore	Baltimore, Maryland	2	Public
Community College of Philadelphia	Philadelphia, Pa.	2	Public
Compton College	Compton, California	2	Public
Cuyahoga Community College			
Metro Campus	Cleveland, Ohio	2	Public
Daniel Hale Williams University (Closed in 1979)	Chicago, Illinois	4	Private
Detroit Institute of Technology	Detroit, Michigan	4	Private
Durham College	Durham, North Carolina	2	Private
Essex County College	Newark, New Jersey	2	Public
Federal City College**	Washington, DC	4	Public
Harris Teachers College	St. Louis, Missouri	4	Public
Highland Park Community College	Detroit, Michigan	2	Public
Interboro Institute	New York, New York	2	Private
Lewis Business College	Detroit, Michigan	2	Private
Los Angeles Southwest College	Los Angeles, California	2	Public
Ministerial Institute and College	West Point, Mississippi	2	Private
Nairobi College	East Palo Alto, Calif.	2	Private
Payne Theological Seminary	Wilberforce, Ohio	2	Private
Roanoke-Chowan Technical Institute	Ahoskie, North Carolina	2	Public
Roxbury Community College	Roxbury, Massachusetts	2	Public
St. Louis Community College-Forest Pk.	St. Louis, Missouri	2	Public
Shaw College at Detroit	Detroit, Michigan	4	Private
Shelby State Community College	Memphis, Tennessee	2	Public
State Community College	East St. Louis, Illinois	2	Public
Strayer College	Washington, DC	4	Private
Taylor Business Institute	New York, New York	2	Private
Trident Technical College	Palmer, South Carolina	2	Public
Washington Technical Institute**	Washington, DC	4	Public
Wayne County Community College	Detroit, Michigan	2	Public

*Access to Black Americans to Higher Education: How Open Is the Door?, National Advisory Committee on Black Higher Education and Black Colleges and Universities, January 1979.

**As of Fall 1977 became a part of the University of the District of Columbia, which also includes D.C. Teachers College, an HBC.

DESIGNATION AS A NPBC IS BASED ON TOTAL AND FULL-TIME ENROLLMENTS BEING GREATER THAN 50 PERCENT BLACK IN FALL 1976.

THE DILEMMA OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

by

Willie F. Johnson

INTRODUCTION

Youth unemployment, and more particularly black youth unemployment, has been a major problem during the last decade. National magazines and local newspapers have examined the problem in depth — gathering statistics and interviewing unemployed youths on inner city street corners. Former President Jimmy Carter appointed a blue ribbon task force under Vice President Walter Mondale and in January, 1980 made youth unemployment the key domestic program of his administration. Last spring, President Reagan put summer youth jobs in his "safety net."

Volumes of research on youth unemployment has been completed. Certainly the problem of massive joblessness among youth, and especially minority youth, has not wanted for attention or study.

Unfortunately, most of the research provided more questions than solutions. And because there are no clear-cut answers, public reaction has been less than adequate.

For example, additional funding for youth employment and training programs targeted at the disadvantaged seemed a certainty in 1980 with strong, bi-partisan support in the Congress. Less than a year later, all plans for additional youth dollars had been shelved. Cities like Philadelphia battled to keep even 25 percent of the 1981 allocation despite steadily increasing youth unemployment in the nation's cities, especially among black and other minority youth.

This paper examines black youth unemployment in Philadelphia in a national context. It also underscores the need for continued intervention at the local, state and federal levels to assure that Philadelphia's black youth are not denied their chance for productive employment.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

One of the difficulties in any discussion of black youth unemployment is that all parties in the discussion are not necessarily talking about the same phenomenon.

First, there is wide divergence as to what constitues "youth." Most statistical summaries dealing with youth unemployment target in on the group age 16 to 19. Yet, for some purposes it may be useful to look at labor force participation for individuals as young as 14 to 15[1] and for other purposes even young people in their early twenties can be justifiably considered "youth," especially when tracking long-term trends.

A second definition relates to the term "black." While some studies include black youth as a discrete grouping, most tend to include blacks with other minorities including Hispanics, Indians, Orientals, Pacific Islanders, Eskimos and Southeast Asians. Depending on the community and the demographic distribution of racial groups in the community, the lumping of these disparate groups in one statistic can mask the actual extent of the problem. For example, while blacks as a group face similar problems regardless of national origin, there are decided differences among the Hispanic populations with immigrants from South America tending to get "white" treatment from employers while immigrants from Puerto Rico tend to get "black" treatment, especially if they are dark complected. Furthermore, blacks and Puerto Ricans tend to be disproportionately concentrated in the older urban areas of the northeast and industrial midwest where unemployment is generally highest.

Yet, even after the terms have been defined, there are still fundamentally different ways of approaching the problem of black youth unemployment. Some view it as primarily a "youth" problem which will abate for individuals as they grow older. Others view it primarily as a "black" problem which will follow currently unemployed black youths throughout their working (or non-working) lives. If not addressed early, its consequences will afflict future generations of black youth.

DIMENSIONS OF THE PROBLEM

Nowhere in the United States — with the possible exception of Detroit -- has the problem of minority youth unemployment reached the crisis proportions that it has in Philadelphia. The latest report from Alvin I. Margulis, Regional Commissioner of the United States Bureau of Labor Statistics, provides the graphic details for 1980, the most recent year for which complete employment and unemployment statistics are available.

In this report, Margulis noted that in the Philadelphia metropolitan area 20.8 percent of the 16 to 19 year olds of both sexes were unemployed during 1980 in comparison to 6.7 percent of the men and 7.2 percent of the women, 20 years old and over.

In Philadelphia, the unemployment rate among 16 to 19 years olds was 32.1 percent -- a rate topped only by Detroit where 39.8 percent of those int hat age group were unemployed. The national teenage unemployment rate is just under 18 percent.[2] Although the exact percentage of black youth unemployment for Philadelphia cannot be calculated due to the unreliability of data from such a small sample size, rough estimates are possible. According to the National Urban League's calculations, the black unemployment in an area is generally about twice that of the official rate for the population as a whole. Called the Hidden Unemployment Index, this formula counts discouraged workers no longer looking for work as well as those working part-time who are actively seeking full-time jobs. Using this index, the black youth unemployment rate in Philadelphia was probably more than 60 percent in 1980 and is still rising. At a minimum, at least four out of every 10 non-white teenagers who wanted to work was jobless in 1980.[3]

IN-SCHOOL VS. OUT-OF-SCHOOL

Many researchers and policy makers, locally and nationally, note the disparity between black youth and white youth in employment. They often cite multiple reasons to explain the discrepancy.

A primary reason given for the high rate is that many of these black youths are in school full-time and, therefore, should not really be considered part of the work force.

There is a trend toward increased school attendance. In 1964, for example, approximately 66 percent of all black male teenagers were in school. While 29 percent of the total of unemployed black male youths were in school in 1964, a full 59 percent of unemployed black youths were in school in 1978.[4] Therefore, while continuing in school may increase a black youth's long-term employment possibilities, remaining in school does limit a youth's opportunities for immediate employment.

Yet, even with increased education, black youth only increase their employment prospects relative to other less educated black youths and not relative to white youth with the same educational attainment. In 1978, for example, according to statistics compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics, black high school graduates with no college had an unemployment rate of nearly 25 percent, more than double that of similar white high school graduates. In fact, the average black youth had to have from one to three years of college education before his chance of finding a job could equal that of the average white high school dropout.[5]

An interesting sidelight to this discussion is that during the 14 year period from 1964 to 1978, the proportion of white youths ages 16 to 19 attending school actually declined. Thus, by 1978, a higher proportion of both black males and females were attending school as compared to white males and females of the same age.[6]

There are several reasons given for the increased number of black youth who choose to stay in school. In many cases, young blacks stay in school because there are few job possibilities outside.[7] An indication of this is that less than five percent of the individuals who dropped out of the Philadelphia public schools last year left with employment certificates indicating that they had found employment.[8] Black youths also tend to finish high school at a later age than white youths.[9] Whatever the reasons, the fact is that black in-school youths seeking part-time jobs face multiple barriers in finding employment. In an urban community such as Philadelphia, the barriers become even more difficult to surmount.

TYPES OF WORK AVAILABLE TO YOUTH

For the most part, young people are quite restricted in regard to the types of jobs available to them. Most work in jobs in the "secondary labor market," positions with few or no entry level requirements which are characterized by very low pay and high turnover. Retailing, light office work and unskilled manufacturing generally represent the range available to teenagers.[10] Increasingly, McDonald's, Burger King and Gino's offer the best — and often the only — choices for a paycheck. In fact, predictions are that by the mid-1980's, one-third of all minority youth who have worked at all will have worked at a fast food restaurant.[11]

For in-school youth seeking part-time employment, the field shrinks even more. Fully half of all young people in part-time jobs nationally work in retailing.[12] These part-time retailing jobs comprise the bulk of what is called the "secondary job market," those jobs held by individuals who, for the most part, do not have to provide primary support for their families. Many black youth face not only competition from all other youth, but from women who have returned to the labor force in large numbers during recent decades. While the employment prospects of white youths do not appear to have been lessened by this increased competition from adult women, there is a clear relationship between the numbers of women, especially white women, who find jobs in the secondary labor market and the numbers of black youth who remain jobless.[13]

Black youth in Philadelphia have faced a double bind in this regard. In addition to the increased competition from non-black youths and adult women, there has been an actual decrease in the number of jobs available to them. The Philadelphia Unemployment Project has documented that more than 140,000 jobs have left Philadelphia in the period since 1965.[14] While many of these jobs have been factory jobs for which in-school youth may not have qualified, there has also been a corresponding steady decline in small businesses located in the commercial strips in the neighborhoods. These small businesses and stores offered previous generations of black youth jobs as messengers, stock clerks, delivery persons and stressed the hiring of young people in the neighborhoods. In some cases, the businesses closed or moved away when the factories left. In other cases, once prosperous neighborhood shopping centers such as 52nd and 60th Streets in West Philadelphia, Columbia and Ridge Avenues in North Philadelphia and Point Breeze Avenue in South Philadelphia lost businesses due to various factors including competition from center city and the suburban malls, turnover in merchants and store owners, increased crime, increased insurance costs and a lack of reinvestment by public and private interests in the neighborhood.[15]

Clearly, proximity to jobs is a key factor in whether black youths find employment. In the early 1970's, central city employment grew by less than three percent.[16] The situation has grown worse in recent years and is especially relevant to Philadelphia which has the dubious distinction of being one of the national leaders in youth unemployment among cities.

While black youths lag behind white youths in employment rates regardless of place of residence, black youths who have lived outside the central cities have considerably brighter job prospects when compared to their urban counterparts. The 43 percent of out-of-school black youths who live in the nation's central cities who cannot find work is almost double the jobless 22 percent of out-of-school black youths who live outside urban centers.[17]

A number of reasons have been given for this variance. These include the lack of physical access to suburban jobs and the reluctance of employers to "import blacks into white communities" as employees.[18] As a result of discriminatory housing patterns and the migration of much of the white population into suburban communities in recent years, three times as many black youth as white youth live in central cities. Because black youth do not tend to live where the majority of the jobs are, they often look and feel out of place even working in predominately white suburban locations.

Yet, even for those who are willing to put up with the difficulties of working in largely white, often hostile communities and who are selected by employers in those communities, transportation looms as a major hurdle. Transit rates in Philadelphia have risen by almost 80 percent in the past two years while many bus, train and trolley lines from the city to suburban communities have been eliminated or curtailed.[19]

Merck, Sharp and Dohme, for example, is a Delaware Valley firm that used to be located within the Philadelphia city limits, easily accessible to inner city youths and adults who were seeking employment. Now Merck has offices and plants in West Point, Montgomery County. Getting there from Philadelphia is costly and time-consuming. The fare from downtown Philadelphia on the Reading Line to North Wales (the closest station) is $5.50 round-trip and traveling time is at least one and one-half hours. The movement of Merck to Montgomery County is a prime example of a phenomenon known as "industrial suburbanization." This trend for firms to move from the cities to suburban locations has drastically limited the opportunities for many black youth to compete for jobs still available in the area but not necessarily with the city limits.[20]

Similarly, while shopping malls often advertise part-time openings, few malls are near enough to offer actual job possibilities from inner city black youth. Even the Plymouth Meeting Mall, which can be reached from Philadelphia by bus and has a large percentage of black shoppers, is not realistic for a black youth without a car. Round trip fare from North Philadelphia to Germantown is $2.30 and traveling time is about two hours. Obviously, for a job at minimum wage for a few hours in the afternoons and on weekends, the expenditure in time and money would yield little return.

LABOR MARKET PARTICIPATION

A major danger sign is that not only has black youth unemployment increased but there has been a corresponding decrease in the number of black youth who have even attempted to find work over the period since the mid-1960's. Employment for black youths ages 16 to 19 began falling during the early 1970's, during a period when the rate for other teenagers was rising.[21] While participation rates for all youth have been on the decline in recent years — dropping nearly two percentage points from July 1980 to July 1981 — declines in employment of black youth have been especially marked in recent years.[22] Black teenagers have the highest rates of employment "drop-outs" according to statistics compiled by the National Urban League on "discouraged workers."[23] Indeed, according to George Iden, an analyst with the Congressional Budget Office, if the percentage of black teenagers in the overall labor force were equal to that of white teenagers, the black youth unemployment rate for 1978 would have been half a million persons higher. That translates to 881,000 unemployed black teenagers rather than the official statistic of 331,000.[24]

The real concern is that the decline does not seem to be simply a phenomenon of the teenage years. While the decline in participation among black males ages 16 to 19 dropped three percentage points during the period from 1964 to 1978, the decline among black males ages 20 to 24 years old was a devastating 13 percent — from 89 percent in 1964 to 76 percent in 1978. For the same period, white male participation among young adults 20 to 24 years old stayed constant and the rates for both black and white females in the same age range increased.[25]

IMPACT OF CETA YOUTH PROGRAMS

The only bright spot in the area of black youth unemployment in recent years has been the massive infustion of public dollars through the funding of a wide variety of employment and training programs targeted for disadvantaged young people.

Philadelphia has expended more than $50 million over the past four years in programs for youth, primarily in activities funded under the Youth Employment and Demonstration Project Act of 1977, better known as CETA's Title IV.

These included programs such as the Youth Incentive Entitlement Pilot Projects (YIEPP) which provided after-school and summer jobs to disadvantaged youth who agreed to stay in school; the Youth Community Conservation and Improvement Projects (YCCIP) which provided jobs in community service areas such as home rehabilitation and weatherization to unemployed, out-of-school youth who need skills training; the Youth Employment and Training Programs (YETP) which provided training, basic education, career exploration and work experience programs to in-school and out-of-school youth through programs operated by community groups, city agencies and schools; and the Summer Youth Employment Program (SYEP) which hires disadvantaged teenagers for jobs with government or community groups for two months during the summer. Special projects were funded which involved youth in the construction trades, in starting small businesses of their own and increased linkages to the educational system. Nationally, youth programs funded through CETA accounted for 75 percent of the increased employment for black teenagers since 1977.[26]

For 1981, year-round youth programs funded through grants to the City of Philadelphia under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act (CETA) provided jobs and training for more than 5,500 economically disadvantaged young people. The grant, which was administered by the city's Office of Employment and Training, totaled just under $10 million for the last fiscal year. Funding for the fiscal year that began October 1, 1981 for Philadelphia, however, has been projected at less than $1.5 million **or approximately one-seventh of the previous year's allocation.** Such a massive cutback would call for the termination of virtually all youth employment programs in the city by March 30, 1982, and a corresponding rise in the numbers of black Philadelphians who are unemployed since 87 percent of all youth 16 to 21 currently served through CETA youth programs in Philadelphia are black.

Other cutbacks that affect youth unemployment in Philadelphia are the proposed $1 million cutback in funds for Philadelphia's 1982 Summer Youth Employment and Training Project and the ending on September 30, 1981 of the Public Service Employment Programs under CETA Titles II-D and VI which Philadelphia used to fund summer and year-round programs for youths 18 and above during 1980. The magnitude of this loss of public jobs and training programs for youth under the various CETA titles becomes even more clear when viewed in the light of recent research that shows that the **private sector is reluctant to accept minority youth even when the costs of hiring are completely subsidized by the government.**[27] When they are asked to use their own money, business reluctance is even greater. For example, despite a mailed letter of appeal to local businessmen from the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce and the Private Industry Council of Philadelphia and a massive media blitz by the National Alliance of Business using Philadelphia area print and electronic media, **not one local business hired a young person during 1981 as part of the Mayor's Summer Youth Employment and Training Program.**[28] As a result, the City had to shoulder the additional responsibility for 4,000 jobs for Philadelphia area youth that had originally been targeted as jobs from the private sector.

CONCLUSIONS

Philadelphia has been outpacing the nation regarding the black youth unemployment crisis — a crisis that has been building nationally since the 1950's. While the infusion of jobs and training various CETA youth programs has slowed the upward trend of youth unemployment, even those funds have been cut back due to budget cuts at the national and local level. Yet, even if the economy improves dramatically over the next few years, there is little reason to believe that black youth unemployment will decline on its own as a result of that improvement. Research has been shown that black youth unemployment has been much less responsive to favorable trends in the market than other segments of the population.[29]

As a consequence, it seems clear that the natural forces of the economy will not solve the problems of Philadelphia's jobless teenage minorities. It would be comforting if the problem could be attributed to the youthful nature of the population, their current largely in-school characteristics or the swollen numbers that resulted from the baby boom (the period from 1942 to the early 1960's). But these factors, while important, are not the pivotal ones. Growing into adulthood will not help many of those who spent their teenage years in fruitless searches for non-existent jobs.[30] Instead, projections are that this group will tend to drop out of the job force in increasing numbers and that as they grow older they will have substantially less chance of becoming employed because employers will not risk hiring persons with no consistent work history. For many blacks, failure to make the transition to the "working world" as teenagers may mean that the transition can never be made effectively. So what has been a youth employment problem in the 1970's and 1980's could easily become a continuing problem that follows black men and women through young adulthood, middle age and beyond. Similarly, while the 1990's promise an era when the number of teenagers will be less than the number of jobs traditionally filled by teenagers, it is idealistic to assume that black youth will not continue to face problems. Already employers are beginning to seek alternatives to the diminishing youth population. Given racism and other factors, black teenagers in the decades to come could easily be displaced by elderly persons returning to the labor force or by new immigrant populations.

Philadelphia's government, through the Office of Employment and Training and other municipal agencies, has made youth employment a priority. The reason for this commitment is obvious. The failure of tens of thousands of black and Puerto Rican youth to make the transition from school to work could doom this city's prospects of future economic growth and increase the potential for crime and disruption. Yet, the city's commitment is not sufficient by itself. Only through the joint commitments of various public and private groups can the problem be addressed.

The following six-pronged strategy is suggested as a focus for minority youth employment efforts:

- A structured local as well as a national response to black youth unemployment must be developed involving increased participation from Philadelphia business community in cooperation with local government and community organizations leading to increase employment for black youth in private sector jobs.
- Local government must make employment for disadvantaged youth a priority by allocating dollars to leverage decreasing state and federal funding and by utilizing local government contracting processes in ways that promote the hiring of black and other youth by those doing business with municipal government.
- Youth employment and training in the public sector must be provided through a continued commitment at the national level with funds specifically targeted towards these areas which demonstrate the greatest need.
- Racism and discrimination must be faced as major factors that contribute to black youth unemployment and addressed through affirmative action.
- Local tax incentives must be created to bring retail and other businesses back to the neighborhoods where black youth live as well as to help black youth find cost-effective ways to get out to the suburbs where many of the jobs are.
- Improved linkages must be developed with Philadelphia's public, private and vocational school systems so that employers can no longer use low skill levels as reasons or excuses to lock black youth out of the job market.

It is clear, however, that we cannot allow the problems of black youth unemployment in Philadelphia, or indeed in the nation, to be placed on the back burner. Research in the area of youth employment and unemployment must continue. Targeted youth employment, job training and vocational education programs must continue. Otherwise, current and future generations of black youth risk becoming part of a permanent underclass, excluded from full participation in the economic mainstream of American life.

FOOTNOTES

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[11] U.S. Department of Labor, Office of Youth Program, *A Summary of the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment*, 1980, p. 17.

[12] *Idem*, *op. cit.*, pp. 12, 16.

[13] Osterman, *op. cit.*, p. 13.

[14] Interview with John Dodds, Director, Philadelphia Unemployment Project, October, 1981.

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[16] Osterman, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[17] Levy and Lerman, *op. cit.*, p. 5.

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[25] Levy and Lerman, *op. cit.*, pp. 2-3.

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THE PHILADELHIA MEDIA: MARVEL OR MONSTER?

by

Elmer Smith

In the battle by blacks to achieve their full measure of freedom and equality, the media may be the most neglected discipline of all.

Every day, many publications dispense "news" with only slight regard for its consequences. When it comes to issues peculiar to blacks, because of a paucity of minorities in the news business, the majority of America's news outlets frame their stories largely from a white perspective.

Not until fairly recently have most news organizations begun to include non-whites in decision-making posts. Indeed, not too many years ago, blacks were rare in any of the nation's nearly 2,000 newsrooms which produce daily newspapers. For years, television provided only a few "tokens." Millions of Americans innocently consume misinformation resulting from the general absence of black input in news. These biased reports serve to intensify existing prejudices and to increase problems that have long existed between black and white Americans.

Although the 30 million blacks in America form the nation's largest minority, few blacks serve on editorial boards or at the top rung of news ladders. The media shapes the images of every group in America. Whatever it is that we feel about Jews, Arabs, blacks, whites, women, children, welfare, the police, schools, churches, crime and corruption — in some measure stems from the media. Not discipline, not housing, not employment, not education or any of the other social barometers which measure our condition, is free from media influence. Yet blacks — to their own peril — look in other directions in their battle to win the minds their fellow citizens.

The media roams virtually unimpeded to depict minorities and others in any manner they see fit.

Americans respond to images. No greater proof is needed than the manner in which women, gays, the handicapped and others are generally perceived. In large measure, the experience of women places them in a position of second-class citizenship. The media, in one form or another, has created such a circumstance for more than half of the population of America. Yet most women fail to recognize the source of their abuse.

The same is true of minorities. There is ample evidence that if an image is projected for long periods, those victimized by it often live up to the lies. The result is that rumor **becomes** reality.

Distortions fill the pages of America's most prestigeous newspapers and crackle across the wires that feed the nation's networks. Americans are constantly bombarded by misinformation billed as "news." Too often readers fail to question its validity.

Indeed, many in the news business have gained celebrity status, simply because they are a persistent and visible presence on the journalistic landscape. What, really, do any of us know about Barbara Walters, David Brinkley, William Buckley or Mike Wallace? Not very much.

Yet we accept their words with an almost biblical belief. We base our strongest arguments on information provided by these media "names." Newspapers, television and radio are guilty of distortions. Examples proliferate:

Two young women, one white, one black, were among four people murdered in February, 1974 in the 5100 block of Viola near Parkside Avenue in Philadelphia. It is hardly necessary to go back to 1974, but one story that year underscored the problem in clear and certain terms. The murder victims came to that scene of sudden death from very different backgrounds. But both, according to police reports, were drawn by the same lure — drugs. The story of their deaths was big news on the pages of local newspapers. Radio and television broadcasts played the story up, with emphasis on the death of the only white victim.

The killings were big news under any circumstances. But the fact that one of the victims — a white girl from the middle class suburb of Haverford — was shot in the head in an apartment in West Philadelphia, provided an angle that was unusual enough to command attention throughout the area.

The treatment of the story provides revealing insight into the subtle discrimination that often operates in newsrooms not known to be particularly racist.

The Bulletin, which recently ceased publishing after 134 years, dispatched a reporter to the family home of the white victim — 20-year old Cathy Ferrara — to talk to neighbors and glean information from them for a piece questioning how a girl from such a background could have died in such a squalid scene. What, in the first place, had Ms. Ferrara been doing in an apartment known to attract drug users and dealers?

The news of the death of Ms. Ferrara was greeted with shock, despair and a feeling that an important life had been wasted. No one thought to do a similar piece about any of the black victims whose lives had ended in the same manner.

The implication was clear. Three black people shot to death in a drug dispute was just not considered unusual by the media. Nobody knew whether any of the black victims grew up on tree-lined streets or if their mothers were shocked. What is worse, no one cared.

Those implications did not escape the watchful eye of former Bulletin columnist Claude Lewis who took his employer to task, along with other local news outlets as well, in a column critical of the clearly biased handling of the follow-up stories.

If the example above was typical only of The Bulletin in 1974 or if it reflected a racism or negligence that no longer is operative in this city's newsrooms, it would be just an interesting anamoly.

However, Lewis' column pointed up several glaring "discrepancies" in the treatment of blacks and whites by the media.

August, 1980 provided us with another blatant example of racist journalism. A columnist questioned how black people in North Philadelphia could get upset enough to stage a demonstration about the fatal shooting of 16-year-old William Green at the hands of Philadelphia policeman William Ziegler.

"For as long as I can remember," he wrote, "somebody was killing somebody in North Philadelphia, on purpose."

Known for his blue-collar perspective, the columnist pointed out that the news stories in this city are replete with accounts of black people who kill each other over loose change, gang turf or other conflicts hardly worth a life "and none of that brings several hundred people into the street because all they'd have to throw at is each other."

He noted that Green was an "11th-grade dropout with no job, no plans and in trouble with the law." Then he quoted Green's father as saying, "My son's death will be in vain if this officer is not tried." "But the real question," the writer concluded, "isn't if his death was in vain. It's if his life was."

The suggestion that a life could have been in vain after only 16 years is outrageous. Every reporter, with any experience at all, has written the story of the captain of industry or the sports star who turned his life around after a misspent youth.

But what is even more patently racist is the ignorance displayed by the implication that black people sit idly by while their neighborhoods are ravaged by drug pushers, gang warfare and the myriad ills that afflict neighborhoods like those in North Philadelphia.

An experienced journalist, supposedly in touch with the community, ought to have been aware of the anti-gang war efforts of the North Philadelphia Mothers Concerned or the cries for help by blacks from within the Richard Allen housing project. There are hundreds of other examples of people in the black community working out their own problems. Not to be aware of these efforts displays an ignorance and lack of concern for black people that still is all too typical of the media in the Philadelphia region.

Fortunately, this point of view is not as typical as it once was. Indeed, most of the print and broadcast news outlets in the city have come a long way toward racial sensitivity since that day in 1974 when The Bulletin ran stories following-up the murders.

For one thing, there were no black news executives in any of the city's three major newspapers, at either of the two all-news radio stations or in the news or public affairs operations of the seven television stations in town at that time. In addition, there was little or no real sensitivity among white decision-makers in news. Less than one of every 20 people involved in gathering and disseminating news at those outlets came from a minority background, according to the estimates of the few blacks who have remained at those newspapers and stations since 1974.

Moreover, the minority reporters on these staffs tend to be routinely eliminated from the coverage of certain kinds of events. For instance, of the four daily newspaper staffs that were operating in 1981 in the city, only The Bulletin had any black sports writers.

One of them, Julius Thompson, had covered high school sports for 10 years. Another, Claire Smith, now at the Hartford Courant and one of only four women sports writers in Philadelphia -- and the only black -- won her sportswriting chores only after she threatened to leave The Bulletin. There is not one black sports reporter at any of the city's seven television stations.

Until The Bulletin ceased publication, Philadelphia could boast of only one or two black feature writers among the daily press. With more than 100,000 Hispanics in the Philadelphia area, there are no more than three Hispanic reporters or editors working regularly in the media.

Minorities are vastly underrepresented on the teams of investigative newspaper reporters who dredge up the hard-news exposes which impact on the city's news pages.

KYW's "Eye Team" is the only full-time investigative effort at a local TV station. Tyree Johnson is probably the only black working full-time in the Philadelphia region in that highly-specialized field.

Perhaps the most blantant exclusion of blacks from key newspaper positions can be seen in the editorial staffs of the two daily newspapers in Philadelphia. It is left to only a handful of professionals -- nearly every one of them white -- to develop the sensitive positions and opinions on major issues affecting the Philadelphia community.

Acel Moore of the Philadelphia Inquirer is perhaps the only black involved in formulating the editorial positions of Philadelphia's daily newspapers now that The Bulletin has closed. Before its demise, Sandra Dawson Long and Claude Lewis carried editorial responsibilities.

The significance of this virtual exclusion can only be appreciated with the realization that today, none of the executives who run the daily skull sessions where the paper's stand on important issues is decided, would dare make those decisions in the absence of women. Yet, they routinely take editorial stands without tapping the opinions of blacks.

It is probably news to no one that there are almost no black news executives in daily newspapers or in the news operations of local TV stations.

In the last eight months, the Daily News and the Inquirer elevated their top black news staffers, Chuck Stone and Acel Moore, respectively. The Bulletin had Claude Lewis in position as a top executive for five years.

In 1980, The Bulletin promoted city hall reporter Joe Davidson to the job of City Hall Bureau Chief. But not before Davidson let it be known he was considering filling a bias suit against his employer. A white reporter, who returned to journalism from a public relations position, was named to the beat. When he did not work out, Davidson was given the slot.

"I think I was a natural for the position," Davidson said afterward. "I had the experience of working in City Hall and I think I did a good job. Since I became bureau chief, I've had no problems and our coverage has been effective." During its final months, however, Diane Gordon Lyles, former education reporter at the paper, was named assistant metropolitan editor.

The Inquirer has appointed general assignment reporter Phillip Dixon to an assistant metro editor's job and elevated reporter Charles Fancher to assistant national/international editor. Fancher is the first black to hold such a post in the paper's history.

The Daily News, which has a news staff smaller by half than the Inquirer's, has no black assignment editors. The Journal, which folded after four years, had a total news and sports staff of less than 25. That staff, on the day it closed its doors on December 16, 1981, claimed only one black reporter and one black photographer.

Despite some progress, it is not surprising that many in the city's minority communities have little faith that the media is seriously interested in fairly covering the black and Hispanic communities.

In fact, activists like Charles Bowser, a lawyer and former mayoral candidate, and Henry Nicholas, president of the National Union of Hospitals and Health Core Employees, charged that the media in Philadelphia and across the country are engaged in a conspiracy to discredit black leaders.

They point to exposes and innuendoes concerning black leaders, including former National Urban League President, Vernon Jordan, and newly elected Altanta mayor, Andrew Young.

They point to a Bulletin investigative series last fall detailing management problems at the Philadelphia-based Opportunities Industrialization Center (OIC) as local manifestations of this supposed nationwide conspiracy.

Even though none of The Bulletin s charges against OIC have been officially refuted, the fact that the investigation even took place offended large segments of the black community.

Bowser and radio personality Georgie Woods, last year reluctantly dropped plans for a boycott of the already troubled Bulletin after OIC-founder, the Reverand Leon Sullivan, told reporters there was no evidence of a "conspiracy."

Subsequently, Bowser, Nicholas and Kenny Gamble, of Philadelphia International Records, fed up with what they considered blantly biased reporting in the city's news pages, organized a mass boycott of all of the city's daily (white) newspapers last August. In fact, some organizers of United Communities, the umbrella group formed to lead the mass boycott, wanted to extend the protest to include the Philadelphia Tribune, the city's main black newspaper.

Bowser, at the time, said the boycott had been lifted at every paper except the Daily News. "Not because the others are any better," he argued, "but we had a meeting of 220 boycott captains and they felt the people needed to read something. They decided to continue the boycott of the Daily News because it has the highest percentage of black readers and consequently, the greatest impact on the black community."

Bowser insists that "a general criticism of the black press in Philadelphia is that it is particularly bad in Philadelphia. Many believe almost every negative impression that young blacks pick up come from the white press, exists in the black press as well. It's killing our self-image because there is little or no positive reporting of the black community. You would have to conclude from these news pages that black people are only interested in crime and welfare.

"Nobody ever goes to black people about issues in general. Look at the abortion controversy. You think black people are not interested in those kinds of things. At one point, the woman who headed the National Right to Life campaign was a black doctor. Yet I have never seen a black minister interviewed about his views on abortion."

Nicholas's assessment of the white media is even more despairing than Bowser's because he sees the problems it has covering minority communities as syptomatic of the incestuous tie between the press and capitalist institutions.

"Basically it's not just a problem for the black community," Nicholas said. "But the black community just happens to be in the forefront of this fight just as it has been on so many others.

"The press advances those things that are pro-system and anti-working class. Blacks are just an easy target. The paper is a repressive instrument. It is also an economic entity not interested in truth but in the kind of headline grabbing issues that make big money.

"I don't think anything will make a significant difference in their approach to the black community because the community, black or white, is not considered equal to the other concerns, business concerns of the papers."

But, unlike Bowser, Nicholas thought the boycott was somewhat effective. "I have seen a little more effort to present some positive aspects of life in the black community. It may be just a token. But the economic pressure we put them under did have some effect," Nicholas said.

While relatively few black leaders feel as strongly as Bowser and Nicholas that the general news media are inherently racist, there is almost universal agreement that the press is doing less than it should in the black community.

That view is shared not only by the residents and leaders of the black community but also by black and white reporters and by editors who say they are doing all they can to correct the deficiencies identified in coverage of the city's minority communities.

Despite the criticism, last year, The Bulletin won the first place award of the National Association of Black Journalists for its coverage of black Philadelphia.

The Prize was awarded for a special series which ran on the front page of The Bulletin for 11 consecutive days. The series, which was titled, "The Blacks: Progress or Promises?," examined nearly every aspect of black life including health, business, housing, unemployment, religion, crime and culture.

Craig Ammerman, executive editor of The Bulletin, in an interview shortly before the paper closed down, was quick to admit that there was a great need for better coverage of the black community. However, he pointed to the dramatic increase in the numbers of black news professionals hired at his shop in the 18 months he was at the paper's helm. In addition, he noted that blacks worked in nearly every news department at the paper.

The Bulletin, in part at the urging of its standing caucus of black news professionals, agreed three years ago to hire one black for every four whites it hired. The paper also agreed to make an effort to promote blacks along the same lines as whites.

"We agreed to do it because we understand that when you have a staff that represents the community, then the community will get fairly covered. It's just a natural. We hired 12 blacks out of the 49 people we hired since I arrived at *The Bulletin*. If we had been unable to find quality black applicants, we would have failed to meet that goal. We won't hire people simply because they're black," Ammerman said late last year.

"It's worked out very well. I would say the blacks on our staff are doing just as well as the staff in general. There are one or two that we'd just as soon not have. But that's true of some white reporters as well. But overall, blacks are doing the job. We're interested now in getting a black on the sports editing desk and a black copy editor."

Ammerman said the only area of minority employment that he has had trouble with is in finding qualified and interested Hispanic reporters and editors. "And Claude (Lewis) is starting to put the heat on right now," he added.

In the hopes of improving *The Bulletin*'s coverage of minority communities, Ammerman circulated a memo among his top editors more than a year ago urging them to find more positive stories about the black community or black leaders. The memo pointed out that blacks spend billions of dollars and are an important part of the fabric of city life.

He said that while he could not specify any stories which resulted directly from that initiative, he felt there were some improvements in the paper's approach to news in the minority communities.

Claude Lewis' column last year was moved from the op-ed page (the page that gets its name from being opposite the editorial page) to a more prominent position on page three.

Ammerman pointed to The Bulletin's op-ed page which has provided a forum for several black leaders who wrote their opinions in signed columns. The page has served as a platform for John and Milton Street, councilmen John White and Lucien Blackwell, Sister Falakah Fattah and Charles Bowser among others.

The Philadelphia Inquirer's top news executive, Gene Roberts, said his main objective is to increase the number of blacks in the upper levels of the Inquirer's editing heirarchy. The Inquirer has also made impressive increases in the number of black news professionals on its staff.

Acel Moore, the Inquirer's Pulitzer Prize winning journalist, said the number of blacks on the staff has increased from the three who were there when he moved from copy boy to reporter in 1968 to 25 reporters, photographers and editors presently on staff.

But Roberts readily concedes that is not enough. "If all of the blacks on the paper are at the same rank or level and nobody is in a decision-making position, I don't think the paper can do a good job of covering the community.

"We want to hire and elevate more blacks because it's good journalism. When we are able to do all the things we want to, it may take a few years, we will be able to present a truer, more accurate reflection of the city. We're involved in a general effort to improve our paper in the last 10 years. The improvement of our coverage of the minority communities is just part of that."

Roberts resists the notion that newspapers ought to be doing things geared just toward the minority communities. He takes the position that by improving the coverage of the community in general, the paper will naturally improve its coverage of the minority community.

"Take the school crises, as an example," Roberts explained. "That is neither a black nor a white issue. But it involves more black people than white. So, if we cover that fairly and accurately, we will have improved our coverage of an item of vital interest in the black community."

He pointed out that the Inquirer has also tried to improve its coverage of the city's minority communities merely by increasing its coverage of the neighborhoods. "We have three full-time reporters working out in the city neighborhoods," he said late last year. "About 40 to 50 percent of what they do involves minority communities simply because that's who lives in those areas."

Roberts also cited a recent series of articles that profiled such community leaders as West Philadelphia's Novella Williams. "We weren't out to do a series of black leaders. But you can't talk about the people who are doing things in the community unless you talk about black people."

Television and radio news executives will admit to transgressions at their stations just about as readily as newspaper executives. But they claim that they are less able to reach out to the minority community with special programming because they have to appeal to a mass audience.

"We don't think of it in those terms, actually," said WPVI-TV General Manager, Lawrence Pollock. "We think in terms of appealing to the widest possible audience with most of our shows. But you could say that, to some extent, it would be counter productive to adjust your programming to appeal to a special audience."

His answer to increased sensitivity to minority people and issues is to have enough minority professionals in key positions to insure that the community will not be ignored by any part of his operation. Pollock has reason for some pride because WPVI has about the best record for minority hiring in the "top four" professional categories of any of the city's TV stations.

Even more, WPVI has a Minority Advisory Board which monitors activities and issues in the minority communities and suggests news and public affairs treatments to the station.

Also, under Pollock's leadership, the station has begun a program to subsidize the work of black filmmakers who probably would not otherwise be able to get their work aired or even financed.

"We have what we call the ground-floor program where we finance the work of a filmmaker from the concept stage," Pollock explained. He said the station also reviews and buys finished films from minority filmmakers for airing on the station.

It would be misleading to suggest that merely by buying the work of black film producers and hiring enough black people in diverse positions to oversee every part of the city's news operations, Philadelphia's news executives can overnight reverse a trend that has plagued the city's minority community for generations. But it's a start. If anyone can have an impact on what the media says — or fails to say about the black community -- it is black Philadelphia. But before it can exercise its power, it must recognize its power.

In a real sense, the public is the ultimate editor. It can affect the future and fortunes of radio, TV and newspapers, in a way it does not yet realize. By twisting the dial or employing selective buying campaigns, it is possible to demonstrate the growing strength and significance of the black community. What is needed is fairness in the media. Blacks want no more than that and should accept no less. Philadelphia is approximately 40 percent non-white today and very probably will become blacker as the decade grows older.

Equal treatment by the media may be the most important goal of all for those interested in enhancing the position of the nation's largest minority. Progress in housing, employment, health, education and the other social barometers will be elusive, so long as the media offers a distorted picture of the black community.

If the black community fails to exercise its power and authority against the media, it will continue to be an unwitting instrument of its own demise.

PHILADELPHIA POLITICS AND "REAGANOMICS"

by

Thaddeus P. Mathis

Too often the discussion of politics occurs in a vacuum, with little connection to the problems it seeks to solve, the aspiration of the people whom it purportedly serves or the impact on the lives of its constituents.

The reins of government have passed from the Democrats to the Republicans at the national level and the ripples are being felt throughout the political system. Reaganomics" has infected the entire body politics and portends to leave its scars for decades. The social, political, and economic forces which it represents pose both a threat and a challenge to black society at all levels.

More than any time in our recent history, this very foundation of the black economy is being threatened by both governmental action and by fundamental alterations within the base of the American economy. The Reagan economic program, with its devastating budget cuts, symbolizes the extent of this crisis. To a degree heretofore unrealized, the two major resource bases of the economy of black America are being eroded — public sector employment and social welfare expenditures. The problem, though national/international in character, is manifested locally in black communities throughout the United States.

The specific impact of federal, as well as state and local budget cuts are difficult to ascertain. For example, not all federal funds are channeled directly to local governmental agencies. The same is true for state funds -- not all are distributed directly to private individuals, organizations, and quasi-public institutions, such as universities, transportation authorities, and medical institutions. However, some general estimates of the impact of these cuts and other proposed reductions in income and services on the black community can be developed.

ECONOMIC IMPACT

Having experienced a fairly rapid rate of industrialization early, Philadelphia has a high ratio of land already developed to total land available for development.[1] This situation affects not only the quality of existing housing stock and the capacity for upgrading and/or replacement of this stock, but affects the nature and extent of industrial expansion as well. Consequently, we are witnessing a fairly radical shift in the base of the Philadelphia economy. Until 1975, manufacturing was the number one source of employment in the city. However, from April 1980 to March 1981, there was a loss of 15,000 manufacturing jobs in the Philadelphia labor market area. This was combined with a loss of 5,500 trade jobs, and another 4,000 government jobs.[2] During the last decade, Philadelphia alone has lost more than 140,000 jobs.[3] Employment in manufacturing is expected to decline by another 10,200 during 1981-82.[4] The Philadelphia economy is shifting from a manufacturing based economy to a service economy. In fact, only in the service industries, such as hotels, restaurants, banks and insurance firms, has Philadelphia experienced significant growth. In 1980, there were more than two-and-a-half times as many service jobs as there were manufacturing jobs.[5] In 1974, the blue collar sector of the labor force represented about 34 percent, most of this difference being absorbed by the white collar and service sectors.[6] As it losses heavy industry, the city appears to be placing its economic future on its ability to attract and hold the new technology-oriented businesses, such as computer companies, pharmaceuticals and trade-related firms, i.e., to become an "international city."[7] At present, the city's economy is specificaly geared to banking and financial services and is heavily dependent on the education and health care fields for its economic vitality. As will be discussed later, these changes in the base of the Philadelphia economy have significant implications for the social, economic, and political well being of the black community.

The combination of changes in the local economic base and national policy have had and promise to have further negative impact on the local job market. According to

Bureau of Labor statistic figures, Philadelphia's rate of unemployment has increased from 5.3 percent in 1970 to 12.4 percent in 1980.[8]

TABLE 1

PHILADELPHIA AREA EMPLOYMENT

	CITY		REGION	
	Employment (thousands)	Jobloss Rate	Employment (thousands)	Jobloss Rate
1980	N.A.	12.4%	N.A.	8.1%
1979	628	11.8	2,013	7.5
1978	638	11.1	1,958	7.7
1977	615	12.0	1,887	9.1
1976	604	11.3	1,857	8.8
1975	635	9.7	1,848	8.5
1974	681	6.9	1,901	5.8
1973	709	6.8	1,945	5.6
1972	732	6.2	1,908	5.4
1971	748	5.5	1,864	5.4
1970	777	5.3	1,876	4.3

N.A. indicates the figures are not available

Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics.

In fact, Philadelphia has experienced double digit unemployment for five consecutive years, with an increase in the last three years.[9] For the fifth consecutive year, the unemployment rate in the city has been above the national average. Moreover, Philadelphia has the lowest labor force participation rate among 11 major cities surveyed by the Bureau of Labor Statistics. Only 54 percent of the able-bodied adults were either working or looking for work.[10] The average monthly unemployment levels for fiscal year 1982 is expected to represent about 142,000 workers, although it is estimated that more than 700,000 will be in need of some employment services.[11]

The final sector of economic activity to be reviewed here is the impact of Reagan cutbacks in service programs. In Pennsylvania about 63,000 persons will be terminated from the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program, a large number of whom will be from Philadelphia. Approximately 6,300 families will lose all food stamp benefits and another 118,000 families will experience a reduction in benefits. Medical assistance payments will be reduced by about $22.2 million. Because of cuts in Title XX programs, more than 200 state workers will have to be terminated.[12] In Philadelphia proper, 56 school nurses were laid off by the School District.[13] Another 245 positions, representing about 165 people, were eliminated at Philadelphia State Hospital, covering a variety of job categories, including custodians, psychiatric aides, recreation workers, and administrators.[14] In addition, the city will lose about $27 million in CETA funds, affecting 200 agencies, with potential layoffs of about 5,700 CETA workers.[15]

The impact of Reaganomics on black Philadelphians is even more devastating. The reduction in manufacturing employment cited above and the shift to white collar oriented enterprise will decrease even further the employment opportunities for black youth and black adults. It will certainly intensify what University of Pennsylvania's, Dr. Theodore Hershberg has described as a "jobs-skills mismatch."[16] Already the unemployment rate for blacks was nearly three times that for whites in 1980 and this gap is expected to continue, if not widen. According to the Pennsylvania Office of Employment Security, whose figures are far more conservative than the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, the unemployment rate for whites in Philadelphia during 1980 was 4.8 percent and the rate for non-whites was 12.5 percent.[17] The corresponding Bureau of Labor Statistics figures for this same period were 7.7 percent for whites and 20.4 percent for non-whites.[18]

There is a similar effect with respect to the cutbacks in public sector employment and service programs. A large number of black Philadelphians, because of their exclusion from the private economy, are disproportionately dependent on public sector employment, income maintenance, and social service programs. Thus, they are disproportionately affected by cutbacks in these program areas.

This analysis assumes that the social and economic structure of Philadelphia gives both shape and substance to its political dynamics. This is no less true for black Philadelphians. It is the economic well-being or lack thereof of black Philadelphians which determines the nature and scope of black political activity at any given point in time. This is true with respect to the crystallization and articulation of political interests, the development and projection of leadership, the resources and capacity for political organization, the development of social and political goals and objectives and the choice of political strategies and tactics. Let us move now to an examination of the political landscape.

REFLECTIONS ON BLACK POLITICS IN PHILADELPHIA: 1981

The political system in Philadelphia is being significantly reshaped by the changes occuring within the political economy and the nation and the region which were cited earlier. Significant among these changes is the shift in population revealed in 1980 census data.

Within the national political system, the political influence of black people, according to some observers,[19] is at its lowest in more than two decades. It is anticipated that shifts in population away from black inner-city districts may reduce the numbers of black people in the U.S. House of Representatives below the present level of 18 and are more likely to reduce representation in the legislatures of most northern states.[20] In fact, this trend is already in process, as fewer than a dozen black people won statewide elections from 1970 to 1980.[21] At the same time, however, the enormous shift of whites from the largest cities has left black people and/or Hispanic Americans as the majority or a substantial minority in a number of cities, including Baltimore, New Orleans, Detroit, Atlanta, the District of Columbia, Memphis, St. Louis, Chicago, and Philadelphia. San Francisco, Cleveland, St. Louis, the District of Columbia, and Philadelphia registered a reduction in the number of blacks, although the latter three cities still experienced an increase in the percentage of blacks to whites, because of white flight.[22]

According to the 1980 Census, there were 1,688,200 persons living within the boundaries of Philadelphia County. This represents a significant decline in the city's population. Nearly 38 percent of Philadelphia's population (638,900) were black.

TABLE 2

CHANGES IN POPULATION FOR PHILADELPHIA COUNTY BY RACE: 1970 AND 1980

Race*	1970	1980
Black	653,791	638,878
White	1,278,917	983,084
Other	16,101	66,248
Total:	1,948,609	1,688,210

*Due to classification problems, it was not possible to isolate the Hispanic population. The Census Bureau estimates that there were 44,653 persons of Spanish origin in the city in 1970 and 63,570 in 1980.

Source: Technical Information Paper, 1980 Census Special Population Summary for Philadelphia Census Tracts, Philadelphia City Planning Commission, June, 1981.

As illustrated in Table 2, the population of Philadelphia declined by 13.4 percent during the decade of the seventies. The actual decline was about 260,000 persons. This represents a more than 20 percent loss in white population and a loss of about two percent of the city's black population. Roughly 29 percent of the population loss occurred in North Philadelphia. The far northeast was the only section of the city where a noticeable gain, approximately six percent, was recorded.[23] The fact that there was no growth in the center city area seemingly confirms the suspicions of many. The influx of young, white, middle-class professionals to this area represents a replacement process, more commonly called "recycling," than an expansion process. Moreover, the loss of

260,000 pesons, in part, may help to explain why the reported loss of more than 100,000 jobs was not accompanied by an even higher rate of unemployment.[24]

TABLE 3

PHILADELPHIA AND PHILADELPHIA SMSA LABOR MARKET AREA FINAL 1980 CENSUS OF POPULATION COUNTS, BY RACE

Race	Philadelphia SMSA	Philadelphia County
Black	884,400	638,900
White	3,703,400	983,100
Spanish	116,300	63,600
Other	129,000	66,300
Total:	4,833,100	1,751,900

Source: Annual Planning Report, Fiscal Year 1982, Philadelphia Office of Employment Security, May 1981, p. 13.

At the same time the city was experiencing a loss of population, the non-white population in the Philadelphia suburbs was increasing. All suburban counties increased their non-white population by more than 24 percent.[25] This would appear to support the assertion of some that as black people obtain middle-income status, they also tend to abandon the city. The movement of blacks from the city to the suburbs was at a much slower rate than migration of whites.

As a result of these dramatic population shifts, Pennsylvania is expected to lose two seats in the U.S. House of Representatives; one of which will certainly come from the Philadelphia area. Since the national population has grown to 226 million persons, the average size of each congressional district in 1982 will be at least 515,000 persons. Based on this formula, Pennsylvania would have 23 congressional districts.

Similarly, changes will be necessary for the State Legislature as well. Philadelphia is currently entitled to 33 seats in the House of Representatives and nine seats in the State Senate. However, because of the population shifts, the city will lose five seats in the State House of Representatives and one seat in the State Senate (see Figure 1).

Councilmanic boundaries were also afffected by the shift in the city's population. The Philadelphia Home Rule Charter mandates that Councilmanic districts be redrawn within six months of publication of the Federal Census, to conform with the requirement that each district contain one-tenth of the city's population, in this instance 168,821 persons. The new district boundaries become effective with the next Council election in 1983. On July 30, 1981, City Council President Joseph Coleman introduced a plan into City Council to redistrict councilmanic boundaries to conform to the population shifts revealed in the census count. This plan was adopted with very little debate. It would appear that the plan reflects the consensus of the incumbent council members, rather than the views of external constituencies, such as party leadership or the community-at-large. The heaviest population losses occurred in the 5th Councilmanic District, where Councilman John Street is the incumbent. These population losses were offset by adding to the 5th district predominantly black neighborhoods from the 8th District (Councilman Coleman, incumbent) and the 7th District (Councilman Jannotti, incumbent). A plan to consolidate the 1,790 voting divisions into 1,300 divisions was rejected by the City Commission. The plan had been opposed by many black leaders, among others, because it would have eliminated nearly two-thirds of the polling places in black and/or Hispanic neighborhoods. It was felt that this would diminish black voting strength, by creating an unnecessary barrier. The Committee of Seventy argued that its plan would have created more equity among voters by equalizing access to the polling places and by having districts of equal size.[24] The decision to reestablish division boundaries was deferred until some time after the State Legislature has completed its Reapportionment Plan.

The Pennsylvania Legislative Reapportionment Plan, as approved, was filed on October 13, 1981. The plan which was finally adopted was an amended version initially submitted by the House Democratic Caucus. The reapportionment plan had the support of the Black Legislative Caucus, although some members of the Caucus were openly critical of some of its provisions. The main criticisms are that it limits the potential number of black legislators by reducing the number of "black" districts and that it violated traditional ward and neighborhood boundaries, thus creating non-compact districts. The Reapportionment Plan created 29 districts each containing 58,456 persons. The plan reduces the number of predominantly black[25] districts from 16 to 12. The "black" districts in the new plan are: 181, 186, 190, 191, 196, 196, 197, 200, 201, 203 (see Tables 4A and 4B for a comparison of the new districts with the old districts). In spite of this reduction, supporters of the plan argue that it will guarantee that 11 of the legislators will be black and possibly 13, if maximum black voting strength can be mobilized in districts 192 and 198.[26] The chief accomplishment of the new plan, however, from the point of view of black electoral interests, is that it protects the black incumbent legislators and, thus, is some indication, perhaps, of their growing political influence within the Democratic Party.[27]

Congressional reapportionment has not yet been completed. A bill has been introduced into the legislature and will be taken up in January after the recess. From all indications, however, the seat of the lone black congressman, William H. Gray, III, 2nd Congressional District will be safe, although there is some controversy as to the racial and class composition of this district under the new boundaries.[28] This plan must be completed before the next election or all of the congressional candidates would have to run at-large. With this incentive, debate on congressional reapportionment is likely to be fairly limited, although there will no doubt be considerable behind-the-scenes negotiating among various party factions.

This completes an overview of the context and parameters of black politics in Philadelphia during the past year. Next, we examine the manner in which black people in Philadelphia have organized to pursue their political interests.

TABLE 4A

NEW DISTRICT

DISTRICT	% WHITE	% BLACK
203	40.4	59.5
202	75.2	24.7
201	17.8	81.9
200	37.3	62.5
199	98.1	1.8
198	50.3	49.5
197	13.2	86.7
196	9.7	90.1
195	29.0	70.9
194	75.8	24.1
192	41.5	58.3
191	38.1	61.8
190	3.7	96.1
189	98.3	1.6
188	24.7	75.1
187	99.4	.5
186	26.1	73.8
185	74.7	25.1
184	88.7	11.2
183	74.8	25.1
182	90.2	9.7
181	6.8	93.0
180	89.2	10.5
179	60.4	39.2
178	99.5	.5
177	99.2	.7
176	99.6	.4
175	93.6	6.2
174	99.8	.1
173		
172		
171		
170		
169		

TABLE 4B

OLD DISTRICT

	DISTRICT	% WHITE	% BLACK
B	203	45.2	54.6
W	202	35.0	66.8
B	201	20.4	79.4
W	199	96.2	3.8
W	198	41.3	58.5
B	197	.8	99.0
B	196	4.5	95.4
B	195	46.3	53.4
W	194	39.5	60.3
W	192	44.3	55.6
B	191	2.7	97.2
B	190	3.2	96.2
W	189	66.5	33.5
B	188	15.1	84.7
W	187	70.1	29.7
B	186	26.4	73.4
W	185	79.2	20.6
W	184	92.4	7.5
W	183	79.5	20.45
W	182	57.3	42.5
B	181	5.5	94.4
W	180	83.7	16.0
W	179	37.8	61.9
W	178	98.7	1.1
W	177	99.1	.8
W	176	99.4	.6
W	175	92.4	7.4
W	174	99.7	.3
W	173	96.8	5.1
W	172	99.7	.2
W	171	99.8	.2
W	170	97.4	2.6
W	169	98.4	1.5

The observations made by Dr. John H. Strange on black politics in Philadelphia during the period 1963-1965[29] were discussed in last year's State of Black Philadelphia report[30] and deserve repeating. In brief, Dr. Strange noted that: 1) black people in Philadelphia had no political infrastructure of their own; 2) black Philadelphians did not participate in politics as a cohesive block; 3) black Philadelphians, for the most part, did not either propose or make demands on legislation; 4) black politicians did not advocate for radical changes in the economic and/or political systems in the city; 5) black politicians seldom made electoral appeals based on race; and 6) blacks did not engage in activities on behalf of their race.

Strange also noted that 7) black people in Philadelphia did not contribute significantly to the financing of political and civic organizations; nor 8) did they have political and civic organizations with permanent research staffs to monitor black interests. As a consequence, black politicians and black people in general must rely on white people for their basic political information.

Dr. Strange's observations concerning the status of black political cohesion, the attitude of black politicians toward fundamental change, the lack of internal financing, and the heavy information-dependency of the black community in Philadelphia are, for the most part, as relevant now as they were in 1965. While there have been occasional periods of political unity, black politics in Philadelphia remains essentially a fragmented movement. Fund raising and resource development is still an aspect of political underdevelopment for black Philadelphians and the current economic crisis is likely to reinforce this tendency. Now, as before, one of the more serious deficiencies in black politics in the city is the virtual absence of reliable internal information resources. Too often, black politicians and political activists must rely on others for political data and analyses. This was woefully apparent this year during the reapportionment process. The basic information and analyses upon which the Black Legislative Caucus based its judgements were supplied by the House Democratic Caucus.[31] Finally, with few execptions, black politicians in Philadelphia are essentially reformist.[32]

On the other hand, some degree of progress has been made with respect to Dr. Strange's findings concerning participation in the legislative process, the racial consciousness of black candidates for political offices and the pursuit of black interests by black politicians.

At all levels of the legislative process, black politicians and community activists are becoming more involved. At the national level, Congressman Gray has started to make his presence felt in the Congress through his position with the Congressional Black Caucus.[33] There are still too few legislative victories to applaud.

In Harrisburg, the Black Legislative Caucus has enhanced its position this term. Evidenced by its role in the reapportionment process, the caucus is still essentially unconsolidated as a political faction and without sufficient state legislators. It lacks the technical resources, the cohesion and in some instances, the independence from democratic and/or republican party leadership.

The black presence in Philadelphia City Council has grown over the past several years. With the addition of John Anderson, Augusta Clark, and John Street in the last Council election and, more recently,[34] John White, Jr., the capacity for black legislative initiative has been strengthened. Certainly, the intellectual ability is present. However, it is still questionable whether current staffing resources will enable the black members of City Council to increase their legislative productivity. The City Council's recent decision to hire a policy-oriented legal staff could improve this situation if the staff is properly utilized.

With respect to racial identification in political campaigns, an increasing number of black aspirants for public office appear willing to organize their campaigns around racial themes. However, the norm is still to project oneself as "a candidate for all of the people." As a result, few black politicians have been able to fully mobilize the allegiance of the black electorate. Moreover, many black politicians appear ambivalent about projecting black consciousness as their primary political orientation, except in the privacy of party caucuses.

Of all of Dr. Strange's observations about black politics, the lack of a political infrastructure seems most critical. A great deal of progress has been made in this area, although the work is far from complete. Several elements of a black political infrastructure are in varying stages of development. However, they are either uncoordinated, unattended or in competition with each other. In addition, a new militant, mass-oriented leadership for this aspect of political development has yet to fully emerge and assert itself. That a new leadership is required seems almost too obvious to warrant further comment.

A number of the elements of black political infrastructure were discussed in last year's report.[35] They include the new National Independent Political Party, the remnants of the Black United Front, and the dormant, but still relevant, Black Political Convention. To these should be added the various caucuses and organizations of black elected officials; coalitions of community groups, such as the People's Alliance for Human Needs; groups of black professionals, such as The Guardian Civic League[36] and the Alliance of Black Social Workers; candidate-oriented campaign and/or support organizations, such as the Northwest Action coalition; black social clubs and civic organizations; and, of course, the black church.

The Black Political Party, The Black United Front, and the Black Political Convention are isolated in this report for further analysis. Again, last year's report[37] included a fairly lengthy review of the Black Political Convention Movement in Philadelphia, from the hosting of the first National Negro Convention in 1830 to Phase III of Black Political Convention-Focus 1979. At that time, it was noted that the modern phase of the convention movement emerged as a strategy for dealing with electoral political activity outside the two-party framework. The Black Political Convention, as political strategy, has been episodic and limited in scope. This was no less true of the

1979-80 convention effort. The convention has been inactive since its last meeting in September, 1980. The author, and several others who had been providing the basic administrative support for the convention, became absorbed in the work of building the National Black Independent Political Party and, consequently, were unable to provide continuing leadership to the convention. For others, once the electoral decisions of 1979-80 had been made, they no longer maintained an interest in preserving the convention. Still others were pleased to have this convention remain dormant, since they had always feared its potential and had only participated in order to attempt to steer it in a direction which would not threaten their interests. As the 1983 elections approach, the need for some broad-based "independent" political apparatus is likely to surface once again. In this context, the interest in a Black Political Convention is likely to be renewed. Already inquiries, on the street, are being made.

This is the role which the convention has assumed historically. It will be important to protect this effort from crass opportunism among office hopefuls and Democratic/Republican party loyalists. The convention, despite its limitations, still has great potential for enhancing black political development.

The Philadelphia Black United Front was spawned by the political ferment generated by the Charter Change Referendum[39] of 1979. Initially, a loosely knit federation, it came together to oppose Frank Rizzo's attempt to change the Philadelphia Home Rule Charter by removing the two-term limit for mayoral succession. After the successful defeat of the Charter Referendum, the Black United Front turned its attention to the 1979 mayoralty elections. The major concern for a number of forces in the community was that there would be two or more black candidates for mayor and that this could be potentially divisive. Others were concerned with the consolidation of the gains from the charer fight.

The Front was the chief entity for calling into existence Black Political Convention-Focus 79. As convention planning proceeded, tensions became evident between supporters of both formations. These tensions were based, in part, on genuine confusion about the distinctions between the two groups and the role each was to serve. Other conflicts resulted from the clash of political ideologies and attempts on the part of each faction to control the outcome of the convention process.

The rift between the Black United Front and the Black Political Convention widened. Despite the fact that there was some degree of overlapping leadership, the makeup of each group was significantly different. Although the Black United Front, as an instrument of political struggle, has historically been a tool for dealing with crises and seldom survived the dissipation of those crises, there was an attempt to build the Philadelphia Black United Front as an ongoing organization.[40] However, the Front was never able to consolidate itself. The same factors responsible for the demise of the Black Political Convention affected the development of the Front as well. In addition, after the call for a National Black Political Convention was issued in New Orleans in 1980, a debate ensued as to whether the Black United Front or the Black Political Party was the next logical step in the evolution of the black political movement. This debate, for some, is still unresolved. The rudiments of the Black United Front still exist, though barely. Its base is significantly narrowed than at its apex in 1979. A Black United Front, however, if properly organized, could serve a significant role in building effective political infrastructure in the black community of Philadelphia.

Finally, the Black Political Party, in the opinion of the author, offers the greatest potential, in the long run, of all the existing political formations for resolving many of the problems of black life in Philadelphia.

Since its founding in November 1980, the National Black Independent Political Party has been attempting to consolidate itself and to develop the internal processes necessary for effective functioning. Since that time, a national charter and structure have been adopted and national officers have been elected.[41] The various chapters around the country are now in the process of conducting local elections as well.

Elections for officers of the Philadelphia chapter have been completed and efforts are currently underway to develop a comprehensive program for the party. Once this is accomplished and the party begins to interact with the broader black community, it will be in a better position to evaluate its potential for making a contribution to black political development in Philadelphia.

The party has its share of internal contradictions to resolve, including the lack of resources, factionalism and leadership. In spite of this, however, the movement grows. Efforts to build the party "from the bottom up" continue to attract and preoccupy the attention of important segments of the black community in Philadelphia.

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

This brief review does not address adequately the variety of issues necessary for a full understanding of the realities and possibilities of black politics in Philadelphia in the 1980's. Because of time and space limitations, a number of important evens have been omitted. For example, what are the implications for black politics of the shift to the Republican party by a number of black politicians and activists? What has been and/or should be the position of black people with respect to the attack on unionism? Similarly, a discussion of the renewed surveillance activities by police of former and current black activists could be helpful in developing a perspective of what the future is likely to look like. The significance of the Philadelphia school strike, the current positioning for the 1983 mayoral elections, and many others, are all topics that deserve consideration. This report represents but a sampling of black political experience.

However, in scanning the political landscape in Philadelphia, the author feels several observations are warranted. First of all, we appear to be witnessing a permanent change in the base of the Philadelphia area economy, which has, potentially, disastrous consequences for the black community. The shift to a service economy is eroding even further the employment base for the majority of black youth and black adults, who do not have education, skills, training, socialization, etc. to compete for the few jobs available in this new market. Thus, without some extraordinary measures, the economic future for black Philadelphia, looks bleak. Moreover, the economic changes taking place within the country are causing greater economic and social differentiation within the black community itself. The result is the migration of middle and upper income blacks to the suburbs or to all black middle income communities. Poorer blacks are left to fend for themselves in the inner city or, as they are recycled by middle class professionals, in isolated pockets on the fringes of the city or in the suburbs.

This has ominous implications for the prospects for black unity and the character of black leadership. The current fiscal policies of the government at all levels threatens the economic stability of the black middle sector.

The impact of these economic trends is likely to be reflected in increased social conflicts within the black community, including strata antagonisms, alienation, cynicism, internally and directed violence. Of course, the potential for directing these energies outward is ever present and is one of the concerns those in black politics have to contend with. Politically, the black community is threatened by individualism and opportunism from within and by political assault from the right and abandonment by the liberal community. Black interests, as in the past, are being viewed increasingly as expendable, even by some blacks themselves.

In this context, the need for internal consolidation within the black community and thoughtful political action is imperative. The following suggestions are offered:

RECOMMENDATIONS:

- The establishment of a black policy-oriented research and education institute. This institute should have the capacity for extensive data collection, analysis, consultation and mass community education. Its focus would be providing this community with the information and perspectives they need to prepare themselves for the future.

- Revival of the Black Political Convention. Despite all of the problems in trying to build this kind of political group, there is a necessity for a broad forum where large numbers of black people can assist in making the political decisions about their future. At the same time acquire the skills necessary for self-determination. Care must be taken that the convention not become a tool of aspiring office-seekers.

Long-term solutions will emerge from the action of political activists. The institutions contained in the above recommendations should facilitate clear political planning. The future, in part, is what the people decide to make it.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Philadelphia Office of Employment Security, Annual Planning Report, Fiscal Year, 1982, May 1981.

[2] These figures were cited in the Philadelphia Inquirer, Wednesday, June 10, 1981, D-1.

[3] Robert W. Sorrell, "Impact of Reagan Economic Plan on Philadelphia and Urban League of Philadelphia," April 15, 1981, p. 3.

[4] Office of Employment Security, Annual Report, p. 1.

[5] New York Times, May 10, 1981.

[6] Office of Employment Security, Annual Report, p. 25.

[7] New York Times, May 10, 1981.

[8] Ibid., p. 3.

[9] The Bulletin, May 10, 1981.

[10] Philadelphia Inquirer, October 21, 1981, p. 4-D.

[11] Office of Employment Security, Annual Report, p. 2.

[12] Comments by John Pfromm, Spokesman for The Pennsylvania Department of Public Welfare; Quoted in The Bulletin, Sunday, September 27, 1981, p. 1.

[13] Robert W. Sorrell, "Impact of Reagan Economic Plan," p. 2.

[14] Theodore Hershberg, quoted in the New York Times, May 10, 1981.

[15] Office of Employment Security, Annual Report, p. 31.

[16] Philadelphia Inquirer, October 29, 1981.

[17] Saul Friedman, "Most Blacks are Opposed to Reagan," Philadelphia Inquirer, September 1, 1981, p. 1.

[18] Adam Clymer, "Black Political Influence is Lowest in Two Decades," New York Times.

[19] Ibid.

[20] New York Times, April 16, 1981.

[21] Office of Employment Security, Annual Report, p. 11.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Philadelphia Inquirer, January 29, 1981.

[25] Fifty-one percent was used as the definition of "predominantly black." Frequently in the media 45 percent is used as the standard for "substantially black." For our purposes here, this is too low a standard.

[26] Both these districts have "substantial" black populations and could potentially be won by a black. Of course, the same was true under the old boundaries.

[27] The criticisms that the plan limits the growth of black representation appear to be justified. To the extent that acceptance of the plan by the Black Legislative Caucus represents a compromise of black representational interests, this could just as well symbolize the weakness of the Caucus within the legislature.

[28] The greatest threat to Congressman Gray appears to be coming from State Senator Milton Street, a political rival. The debate is likely to revolve around which new neighborhoods to add to the 2nd District.

Congressman Gray would prefer the Center City neighborhood which are predominantly white and middle class; Senator Street would prefer the predominantly black and poor neighborhoods. How this matter is resolved will determine which, if any, legislator receives an advantage in their political rivalry. This will probably be the most controversial aspect of congressional reapportionment proceedings.

[29] John Hadley Strange, The Negro in Philadelphia Politics: 1963-1965 (Ph.D. Dissertation, Princeton University, 1966).

[30] Thaddeus P. Mathis, "The Status and Growth of Black Political Independence in Philadelphia, 1979-1980," The State of Black Philadelphia 1981 (Philadelphia: Urban League of Philadelphia, 1981), pp. 59-77.

[31] Interview with Dwight Evans, Representative from the 203rd District and Chairman of the Legislative Black Caucus Committee on Reapportionment, Friday, January 8, 1982.

[32] There are those black politicians who might challenge this assessment. However, the weight of past history is in favor of this judgment. Exceptions must be demonstrated in practice.

[33] Congressman Gray is Vice President of the Congressional Black Caucus and serves on the House Appropriations Committee.

[34] John White, Jr. was elected in a special election held during the general election of November 3, 1981 to complete the unexpired term of Louis Johanson, 9th Councilmanic District, who resigned after he was convicted in the Abscam scandal.

[35] Thaddeus P. Mathis, "Black Political Independence."

[36] The Guardian Civic League is an association of black Philadelphia policemen. The League, formerly a supporter of Mayor Bill Green, is currently challenging the mayor on his failure to insure the hiring and upgrading of more black policemen, a promise which he made during his mayoral campaign.

[37] Thaddeus P. Mathis, "Black Political Independence."

[38] The Black United Front is generally credited with the extremely effective mobilization of the black community which resulted in the resounding defeat of then Mayor Frank Rizzo and the referendum to change the Home Rule Charter to allow the mayor to serve more than two successive terms.

[40] Historically, a Black United Front is an "organization of organizations" which come together around a specific crisis. Since the Front is composed of diverse interests and ideologies, it seldom lasts beyond the crisis. Thus, the Federation structure is the predominant type of Black United Front structure. Whether a genuine Front can be constructed as an ongoing organization, with a unitary structure remains to be seen.

[41] Two Philadelphians were elected to national offices in the National Black Independent Political Party at the Party's First Annual Congress, in Chicago, Illinois, August 25, 1981. Thaddeus P. Mathis was elected to the position of Presiding Officer of the Central Committee and Zoharah Simmons was elected Treasurer.

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION IN THE 80'S

by

Dr. John P. Fernandez

INTRODUCTION

Under the Reagan Administration, Affirmative Action has become a negative concept. In the minds of many, those who believe in affirmative action are regarded as anti-American, anti-constitution and anti-equality. Americans who are anti-affirmative action are regarded by many conservatives as the true defenders of the American constitution and its highest values.

Before discussing the recent attacks on affirmative action, it is important to define what affirmative action means. It is not preferential treatment for minorities and women or "reverse discrimination" against white males. It is a program to correct over 300 years of racism and sexism. As Vernon Jordan, former President of the National Urban League, said in recent testimony before Congress:

> "First, I would like to clarify what is meant by affirmative action. Contrary to arguments popular in some quarters, affirmative action is not some arbitrarily developed concept designed to grant preferential treatment to minorities. It is not a device fashioned to infringe upon the rights of white males in our society. It is not a vehicle for constitutional subterfuge to sabotage the so-called tradition of 'color blindness.'
>
> Affirmative action is first and foremost a legitimized constitutional remedy for past discrimination. It is a remedy in keeping with the basic principle that where there is a constitutional violation, there must be a remedy, appropriate in scope to that violation. Affirmative action seeks to redress over 300 years of discrimination — discrimination rooted in over 200 years of legal bondage and perpetuated by another century of legally sanctioned racial prejudice."[1]

Both Democratic and Republican Administrations since 1860 have supported some aspects of guaranteeing minorities — especially blacks — their civil rights.

As the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights stated in 1981:

> Republican Administrations — from that of Abraham Lincoln, who signed the Emancipation Proclamation; to that of Theodore Roosevelt, who spoke for racial equality; to that of Dwight Eisenhower, who utilized the power of his office to enforce court orders mandating the desegregation of public schools; to that of Richard Nixon, who won congressional support for technical and financial assistance to minority-owned businesses — have stood firm in their support for civil rights progress.
>
> Democratic Administrations — from that of Franklin D. Roosevelt, who created the Wartime Fair Employment Practices Committee; to that of Harry S. Truman, who desegregated the armed forces; to that of John F. Kennedy, who created the President's Committee on Equal Employment in Housing; to that of Lyndon B. Johnson, who led the fight for the 1964 Civil Rights Act — have stood firm in their support for civil rights progress.[2]

Affirmative action since the 1960's has become a crucial ingredient in the civil rights process.

In addition to recent Presidents' support for civil rights, including affirmative action, the Supreme Court and other courts, have made numerous decisions upholding the basic purposes and concepts of affirmative action in education, government and private employment.

However, despite these traditions, we now have an administration and Congress leading the fight to do away with affirmative action. Their allies in the private and public sectors are spending time, money and energy to return to the time when the white male, who represents 37 percent of the population, dominated 99 percent of all lucrative power positions in society in general and in private industry in particular. This is not a surprising reaction. When the issue of opening up the job market to minorities and women was first raised in earnest in the 1960's, before any numerical goals and timetables were imposed, it easily could have been anticipated that those in power would not relinquish any of that power voluntarily.

Citizens involved in mass movements often create turmoil as they climb from an inequitable position closer to equality. In addition, opposition grows among those who lose power in the process.

There are three main arguments put forth by opponents of affirmative action. The first is that affirmative action violates the American tradition of color-blindness and the American Constitution. The second is that affirmative action is practicing reverse discrimination and/or preferential treatment. It penalizes innocent white males. The last main argument is that affirmative action is no longer necessary because 300 years of racism and sexism have been corrected.

These basic arguments have led to some of the most powerful and widespread attacks directed at civil rights activities in the 20th century. A review of several of these attacks led by the Reagan Administration and by its congressional allies is illustrative.

The Reagan Administration has offered new guidelines that would exclude certain employers from respecting old requirements. These guidelines exempt employers with less than 250 workers and/or separate contracts of less than $1 million from the written requirements of affirmative action plans for hiring and promoting minorities and women.

The new guidelines also would allow contractors with 250 to 499 employees to fill out less comprehensive affirmative action plans. It would exempt those employers from setting goals and timetables for job classifications based on the employment of minorities and women. The proposed guidelines will eliminate 77 percent of current government contractors.

The new requirements are far less rigid than the present ones. Previous regulations required federal contract companies of 50 employees or more and/or contracts, either separately or in aggregates of $50,000 to develop written affirmative action programs.

Another attack comes from Assistant Attorney General William Bradford Reynolds, chief of the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division, who has said in congressional testimony that the Adminstration "no longer will insist upon or in any respect support the use of quotas or any numerical or statistical formulas designed to provide non-victims of discrimination preferential treatment based on race, sex, national origin or religion."[3]

In Congress, numerous bills have been introduced to completely eliminate or weaken affirmative action. For example, Senator Orrin Hatch (R., Utah) has introduced a constitutional amendment which would prohibit the use of race in any remedies, whether voluntary or not, to correct past discrimination. In the House, U.S. Representative Robert S. Walker (R., Pennsylvania) since 1977 has consistently introduced legislation that would bar the use of goals and timetables to increase the hiring or school enrollment of women and minorities.

Some opponents of affirmative action contend that it violates the Constitution by making race a conscious criterion in a color-blind society.

Those who use this argument are unfamiliar with the American Constitution. They fail to acknowledge that throughout the history of the United States, until the 1960's, there were numerous laws which supported racial discrimination against minorities.

For example, early legislators in this country passed laws to make racism a reality, not only in thought but in practice. The preamble to South Carolina's code of 1712 said that "blacks were of barbarous, wild, savage natures, and . . . wholly unqualified to be governed by the laws, customs, and practices of this province. They must be governed by special laws as may restrain the disorders . . . and inhumanity to which they are naturally prone and inclined."[4]

This anti-black trend continued through the 1860's until the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments to the Constitution granted blacks equal rights of freedom, due process, and the vote. Yet, legal discrimination against blacks and other minorities, especially Asians, did not stop. Thirty years after the Civil War, in Plessy v. Ferguson, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that "separate but equal" facilities were permissible. This precedent was not reversed until 1954 in Brown v. Board of Education.[5]

Only 17 years ago non-whites were guaranteed the right to public accommodations, and 14 years ago interracial marriages and cohabitation ceased to be illegal in the 15 states with laws against miscegenation in Loving v. Virginia. These laws were originally directed against blacks, and in many cases, Asians.

This brief review shows that this has never been a color-blind society in law or in reality. Thus it is, to say the least, hypocritical for the Reagan's, Hatch's or Walker's of these United States to oppose laws and remedies which are attempting to correct over 300 years of racial discrimination supported by our laws.

The second major reason put forth by the opponents of affirmative action is that it is "reverse discrimination" in its worst form and preferential treatment in its best.

This argument ignores the fact that after 300 years of racism and sexism, which permeate all society's institutions, special long-term efforts are needed to insure equal employment opportunities for minorities and women. These special efforts do not constitute reverse discrimination or preferential treatment and data supports this statement. After 17 years of these affirmative action efforts, blacks have made little economic progress in catching up to whites. For example:

- The black unemployment rates since World War II have remained about twice the percentage of whites. In 1980 it was 13.2 percent for blacks vs. 6.3 percent for whites.
- The income gap between whites and blacks remained constant in the 1970s. Black families earn only 57 percent of white family income ($11,960 vs. $20,438).[6]

Sociologist Robert K. Jobu found that blacks are far from achieving economic equality with whites. He found that a one-unit change in education meant a salary increase of $522 for whites and $248 for blacks. When he analyzed the effect of age on salary, he found that a one-unit change in age meant $79 for whites and only $33 for blacks. Occupational status and prestige converted into the following dollar-value increases for each step up the occupational status hierarchy: whites, $969; and blacks, $471.[7]

The figures clearly indicate that if reverse discrimination or preferential treatment is taking place, blacks and other minorities are not the beneficiaries. What they do suggest is that while childhood poverty and poor schooling are contributing factors to the low earning power of some blacks, discrimination against blacks continues to be a controlling force.

The elimination of overt discrimination is not going far enough. As Sociologist Robert Blauner points out, this position assumes erroneously that blacks will automatically gain equitable opportunities if discrimination ends.

The purpose of "preferential treatment," says Blauner, is not so that "non-whites will be in the position of dominance," but so that true equality may be achieved. He also observes, with regard to the opponents of preferential treatment that ". . . the cry of reverse racism is . . . more and more raised by conservatives . . . who have never raised a finger in the past about the society's predominant white racism."[8]

The cries of preferential treatment and reverse discrimination stem from fear on the part of white men, who make up only 37 percent of the population, that their privileged positions are being threatened. Advancement of minorities and women who make up 63 percent of the population would seriously erode the advantages long enjoyed by white males.

This fear of loss of their priviledged positions has driven whites to develop myths and stereotypes in order to preserve these positions.

The final major argument against affirmative action is that it is no longer necessary because minorities and women are now being provided equal opportunities. People who use this argument do not understand the complex concepts of racism and sexism thus, do not recognize the extent to which corporate executives possess such racist and sexist attitudes which have a very negative impact on the employment and promotions of blacks.

Racism and sexism may be defined as basic cultural ideologies that state that whites and men are inherently superior to minorities and women, solely on the basis of race and sex. It further indicates that whites and men have the power over societal institutions to develop, evolve, nurture, spread, impose, and enforce the very myths and stereotypes that are the basic foundations of racism and sexism. These myths and stereotypes are used to maintain and justify dominant social, economic, and political position of whites and men.[9]

Even with their total control over all of society's institutions, the power struggles in which the white males find themselves create great fear.

Although a century of new laws challenged the monopoly of power by white males, those laws cannot eradicate the negative moral and psychological effect on the American population.

Thus, racism and sexism are still two of the most powerful and complex social forces affecting every institution in American society and most aspects of American life. However, the form of these forces has changed drastically, especially since 1964.

Our present laws are trying to correct the obvious forms of racial and sexual discrimination that are called overt racism and sexism. The subtle forms have to do with policies, practices, and patterns of decision making. They are called institutional racism and sexism.

It is because of less overt forms of racism and sexism that many white males believe affirmative action programs should be eliminated or greatly modified. However, a recent study of corporate managers indicates that affirmative action is needed to combat the general negative impressions which these managers have about minorities.

For example, 60 percent of white male executives expressed stereotypes about the ability of minorities to be successful corporate managers. This statistic is disturbing.[10] But even more disturbing is that higher level managers are more likely than their subordinates to accept stereotypes about minorities.

If many upper-level managers believe in the stereotypes about minorities, their support for steps toward the achievement of equal opportunity will be limited at best. These executives are easily convinced that minor concessions contribute substantial good-faith efforts. This lack of support permeates the entire organizational structure. In addition, they will not easily accept minority peers whom they cannot view as equals. Thus few, if any, minorities may be promoted to upper levels of management.

Another attitude stemming from the study suggested that 84 percent of white males at all levels of management believe company hiring and promotional standards must be lowered to accommodate minorities. This compares to 18 percent of the black managers in the study. In addition, 40 percent of the white males and 10 percent of the black managers, believe minorities have lowered productivity and services in corporations.[11]

These negative views about minorities are translated into additional obstacles that blacks must face in the corporate world and most white males admit this is the case. In the same study, 89 percent of white men believe minorities face some racial obstacles in their companies.[12]

The Philadelphia Situation

The following statistics about blacks in the Philadelphia region will suggest that if in the face of the new conservative mood in the United States, affirmative action is needed as much, if not more, in the 1980s as it was in the 1970s.

- Blacks represent 40 percent of Philadelphia's labor force, but only 15 percent of its work force in private industry.
- Black Philadelphia unemployment in 1981 was 20 percent. That was more than three times the level in 1971.

- In the department store field, where blacks spend millions of dollars, they represent only 14.3 percent of the work force of 45,649. In 1979, the figure for blacks dropped to 12.5 percent and the figure for whites rose to 86.7 percent from 84.7 percent.

- Black families are spending an estimated $250 monthly for food. They spend more than 25 percent of their income for food alone. But blacks represent only 6.3 percent of the area's food store employees and only 3.3 percent (or 61 among the 1,803) of the "officials and managers."

- That blacks have not moved up the corporate structure in Philadelphia is illustrated by the fact that of the more than 250 top officers reviewed by the Philadelphia Tribune, only one is black.

- The Philadelphia Tribune also noted recently that many corporations are showing a decrease in black employees. Banks showing a reduction in the percentage of black employees included PSFS (18.3 to 17.5), Central Penn (16.3 to 16.2), Western Savings (15.8 to 15.6) and Beneficial Savings (7.6 to 7.2).[13]

Finally, Table I (see next page) clearly shows the overall poor representation of blacks in the higher paying job classification. For example, the table shows that blacks who represent 45 percent of the Philadelphia area labor only represent 5.1 percent of the managers and officials and 5.1 percent of the professionals. On the other end of the spectrum, blacks represent 26 percent of the laborers and 31 percent of the service workers.

We must all remember that there is a pervasive tendency to deny the very great impact of race on the corporate life and careers of minority managers. Americans do not like to think of themselves as unfair. Deep cultural and psychological conflicts occur among Americans because we have ideals of equality, freedom, God-given dignity of the individual, and inalienable rights. Yet many in positions of authority engage in practices of discrimination, humilation, insult, and denial of opportunities to minorities.

TABLE 1

BLACK VS. WHITE EMPLOYMENT IN THE PHILADELPHIA AREA*

	Black Males	Black Females	White Males	White Females
Officials and Managers (N = 88,363)	3.4%**	1.7%	77.4%	16.4%
Professionals (N = 83,795)	2.5	2.6	58.2	33.2
Technicians (N = 44,705)	4.8	7.1	54.2	31.2
Sales Workers (N = 72,144)	3.0	5.3	46.6	43.3
Office and Clerical (N = 143,336)	2.8	11.7	19.1	65.0
Craft Workers (N = 98,477)	9.3	1.7	82.2	5.1
Operators (N = 127,520)	13.5	6.6	56.1	20.1
Laborers (N = 56,477)	17.8	7.8	47.6	20.4
Service Workers (N = 69,108)	14.4	16.4	30.2	35.3

* Data comes from the 1979 EEO Report Summary of 1,699 employees.

** Adding these percentages horizontally will not add up to 100 percent because other minority groups are left out.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To assist the readers in developing solutions to the problems of racism and sexism in the corporate world, let me put forth some recommendations which include affirmative action programs but also go beyond these plans.

What Government Should Do

One major recommendation to solve racism and sexism and provide minorities and women equal opportunities is to strengthen, not weaken the government's enforcement of affirmative action. The government must put greater power in the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission and Office of Federal Contract Compliance Program. Both agencies must have the power to require corporations to establish goals and timetables at all levels of employment. Additional money must be made available to EEOC and OFCCP programs to hire more people to monitor corporate activities. Finally, the government must consistently refuse contracts to those firms which discriminate, however slightly, against minorities and women. The tax dollars of blacks — which run into the billions — are used to subsidize firms which discriminate against them.

What Firms Must Do

It is imperative that the whole community understands that racial discrimination is costly to everyone. Discrimination kills incentives and thereby causes many potential workers to drop out of the market. Their support must be absorbed by all workers in terms of taxes.

The first step a company should take to assure that blacks receive equal opportunities is to establish goals and timetables for all departments, divisions, and sections within the entire firm. These goals and timetables should not only be directed toward making the overall number of blacks in the company representative of the population at large, but also toward placing representative numbers of blacks in all levels of the firm's hierarchy and job areas.

Corporations must be willing to implement actions that may appear to be reverse discrimination. However, such actions must be shown to be compensatory relief until employment parity is achieved. This is the purpose of affirmative action. Affirmative action efforts can then be replaced by actual equal opportunity.

As a company develops its goals and timetables, it should begin to take three concurrent and equally important steps:

- Develop the organizational structure necessary to insure compliance with the programs.
- Recruit and train blacks for all levels of corporate employment.
- Institute a reward system — promotions and salary increases to those managers meeting equal employment goals and who have established a track record of hiring and promoting talented blacks.

Goals and timetables are set for many managerial activities. Managers are rewarded for their successes. The application of such a reward system to equal employment opportunity goals should be seen as a routine part of the corporate system.[14]

The types of actions we have been suggesting, of course, come under the general title of Affirmative Action Programs. But there is more to effective operation of a company and satisfaction of all its employees than just a strong affirmative action effort. An integral part of equal opportunity is a comprehensive management vitilization and development program, with certain specific and objective components.

Such a program is one means of alleviating some of the conflicts and stresses that have resulted from race/sex issues. Some problems employees attribute to their race and/or sex in fulfilling their goals and aspirations in the corporation are really not race and/or sex problems. They are related to the fact that only in recent years have corporations begun to develop employment practices and processes that have attempted to be fair, equitable, objective and systematic.[15]

The implementation of this employment system will be difficult because its viability depends upon properly designed work — a concept and process few corporations have recognized as the basis for an effective employment utilization and development system. Corporations that have recognized the usefulness of work design have had difficulty in implementing it because the concept basically gives the subordinates more power over their work than most traditional bosses feel comfortable in giving up. Work, when properly designed, is whole with an identifiable beginning and end, offers variety, provides subordinates with automatic and direct feedback, gives subordinates sufficient autonomy to make decisions about the job, and has a specific user and receiver.

Once work is properly designed, the other components of the system can be implemented. Responsibilities can be defined by bosses and subordinates, and clear objectives and means of measurement, agreed upon by both bosses and subordinates, performance evaluations will more likely be based on the job done and not on subjective criteria such as race, sex, age or political connection.

Since properly designed work produces a clearer picture of the skills and abilities needed to perform jobs, potential evaluations will be more effective, especially if a variety of potential evaluation procedures are used to check and balance one another. Evaluating past performance is much easier than evaluating future performance.

In order to be most useful to subordinates, performance and potential evaluations should provide useful and specific feedback on subordinates' strengths and weaknesses. They should take into consideration subordinates' views about their performance and potential. With these two evaluations properly done, supervisors and subordinates will be able to effectively determine career plans and needs for training and development -- provided, of course, that the company has given both the manager and subordinate proper training and sufficient information to develop such plans.

It is imperative, if this employment system is to be effective, that subordinate participation be active and that this participation exist in all aspects of the process. Many managers are very reluctant to include subordinates for both personal and practical reasons. On the personal side, they view such an employment system as denying them exclusive traditional authority. Some view it as revolutionary; since they usually oppose minor procedural changes, they are bound to resist drastic changes in time methods.

On the practical side, managers are reluctant to implement systems in which they are not properly trained. Critical communication with subordinates is difficult for many bosses (even in areas in which they are comfortable and well trained). Communication is much more difficult when no proper training has occurred. Supervisory personnel are not only lack training in the basic content and function of these system parts but also in methods of providing constructive and critical feedback to their subordinates, especially about negative issues. Also, since managers are paid for meeting numerical objectives, not human objectives, the necessity of priorities encourages management to place less emphasis on how to handle, evaluate, develop, and motivate people than on meeting numerical targets. They view this role as something in addition to their jobs, rather than as an integral part of them.

Corporations must make certain that this employment system is implemented equitably and fairly for all managers. Many managers find it difficult to recognize and admit that all human beings are subjective. They have certain likes and dislikes that will always influence their use of this or any other system and must consciously work against personal prejudices and biases. All employees are faced with personal characteristics that can be liabilities: age, religion, height, weight, looks, and family origins. Minorities and women have the additional burden of facing discrimination. Thus, training and understanding racism and sexism should be provided for all managers. This training should not be a one-shot deal. Since racism and sexism are developed throughout life, a one-day or one-week seminar on the subjects is not sufficient to understand these concepts. Corporations must develop simple to complex courses that all managers must attend over a number of years.

The components of this employment system already exist in the participating corporations in some fashion. They do not have to develop entirely new ones or greatly refine the ones that exist. What they must do is to make certain the plans are properly implemented by competent, secure managers. Millions of dollars can be, and have been, spent on developing new employment systems, but unless the managers are motivated to properly implement and support them, this money is wasted.

To sum up the recommendations of this paper, corporations should begin to:

- Develop an employment atmosphere that has as its main tenets individuality, honesty, openness, and acceptance of diversity.
- Recognize the crucial, destructive, and costly roles that racism and sexism play in corporations.
- Develop programs to educate managers not only on racism and sexism but also on cultural and value differences of the increasingly heterogeneous corporate employee body.
- Develop an employment system that has as its main components work design, performance and potential evaluation procedures, career planning, and training and development.
- Provide special training programs for managers, especially those who believe these programs will be helpful to their corporate success.
- Provide a strong EEO/AAP emphasis and programs with specific immediate sanctions against those who violate its philosophies and tenets.

While these suggestions will not resolve all the corporate conflicts created by the entrance of minorities and women, the ideas and concepts can go a long way toward helping corporations develop a satisfied, motivated, high-performing work force able to compete with the best. If corporations do not effectively implement such an employee utilization and development system, the conflicts will increase. Minorities and women are becoming more agressive in pursuing their rights to be treated equally, and they want their fair share of corporate rewards. White men are going through a very serious psychological readjustment as they see their dominant position slowly slip away toward a more equitable one.

Since the corporate raison d'etre is the provision of goods and services at a reasonable profit, the compelling motive of corporations should be the elimination of conflicts that interfere with production and that threaten the return on investment. If corporations do not deal effectively with these new conflicts, their work force will become increasingly non-productive.

Social scientist, Kathryn Welds, noted the ultimate destructive effect of these new conflicts if they are not dealt with in an effective and honest manner:

> Many unanticipated conflicts may occur overtly, but there are also more subtle, self-destructive displacements when conflict is ignored altogether. Besides decreasing an organization's potential for an open, creative, and friendly atmosphere, hidden conflict can also be reflected in tardiness and absenteeism; high turnover and production errors; increased accidents, grievances, and transfer requests; plus decreased productivity. In addition, there are stress-related physical symptoms: insomnia; headache; hypertension; asthma and cardiac irregularities; weight changes; ulcers and colitis; uncontrolled use of drugs, cigarettes, or food; anxiety; and depression. These all suggest unresolved conflict in the workplace and add to occupational burnout.[16]

Another consequence of not dealing with these conflicts is that employees will turn to an ever-eager government to assist them in their drive to equality and treatment as human beings. No society can be as productive as it should be when 63 percent of the population is discriminated against. Without strong affirmative action programs, racism and sexism will remain crucial influences in the employment of blacks.

It should be remembered that in terms of mental health, racism and sexism, regardless of their forms, are more pervasive and far more serious threats than "childhood schizophrenia, mental retardation, psychoneurosis, or any other emotional derangement."[17] Their destructive forces severely cripple growth and development of millions of Americans regardless of age, race, and sex. Yearly, they cause more fatalities, disabilities, and economic loss than any other single factor.[18] The answer to these high costs is a stronger commitment to affirmative action.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Testimony of Vernon Jordan, President of the National Urban League, before the Subcommittee on Employment Opportunities, July 15, 1981, 1, 2.

[2] Copper, Maudine R., Affirmative Action 1981: Debate, Litigate, Legislate - Eliminate, National Urban League, Washington, D.C., 1981, 11.

[3] "Affirmative Action is Backed," New York Times, October 4, 1981; see also, "Minority/Women's Groups Rip Affirmative Action Proposal," The Bulletin, August 26, 1981; "Reagan Ripped on Job Quotes," The Bulletin, September 28, 1981.

[4] Stampp, Kenneth M., The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-bellum South (New York: Vintage Books, 1956), 11.

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[6] Wilson, Kendall, "Progress to Poverty," The Philadelphia Tribune, June 23 through August 4, 1981.

[7] Jobu, Robert M., "Earning Differences of White and Ethnic Minorities: The Case of Asians, Americans, the Blacks and Chicanos," Sociology and Social Research 66:1(October, 1976): 24-38.

[8] Fernandez, John P., Black Managers in White Corporations (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), 210.

[9] Fernandez, John P., Racism and Sexism in Corporate Life: Changing Values in American Business (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Company, 1981), 303-304.

[10] Ibid., 45.

[11] Ibid., 127.

[12] Ibid., 65.

[13] Wilson, Kendall, "Progress to Poverty," The Philadelphia Tribune, June 23 through August 4, 1981.

[14] Fernandez, John P., Black Managers in White Corporations (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1975), 211.

[15] Fernandez, John P., Racism and Sexism in Corporate Life: Changing Values in American Business (Lexington, Mass.: D. C. Heath & Company, 1981), 299-302.

[16] Welds, Kathryn, "It's a Question of Stereotypes vs. Reality, Limits vs. Potential," Personnel Journal, (June 1979), 380-383.

[17] Spurlock, Jean, "Some Consequences of Racism for Children," Charles V. Willis, et. al., Racism and Mental Health (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977), p. 161.

[18] Ibid.

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND MINORITY BUSINESS

by

Beverly Harper

The state of minority business in the Philadelphia area parallels the general state of black Philadelphia. It is depressing and bound to get worse unless concrete action is taken immediately.

Minority economic development attempts to place capital resources in the hands and under the control of the traditionally disenfranchised.

It adds little to the understanding of minority enterprise to focus on the relatively small advantages of one minority over another. Like most disciplines, business in America is dominated by white males; everyone else is a minority in the world of commerce.

A sample of 100 randomly selected annual reports of large national and international companies revealed that fewer than 10 blacks and 10 women serve as directors. There is no black chief executive officer among any of Fortune Magazine's list of top 500 companies.

For our purposes, the term "small business" connotes companies with gross sales of less than five million dollars per year. Businesses with gross revenues of between five and 10 million dollars annually are generally regarded as mid-sized and those with gross sales in excess of 10 million dollars per annum signal the beginning of big business.

The Massachusetts Institute of Technology conducted a study which found that two-thirds of the new jobs created in America between 1969 and 1976 were generated by businesses with fewer than 20 employees. Small businesses then, is the backbone of the American economy.

Business controlled by blacks in Philadelphia have often been hindered, through design, ignorance, or neglect by forces beyond the control of blacks.

A 1971 study by Theodore L. Cross, on the subject of black capitalism, notes that "black traders, dealers and producers came to be in short supply because the economy never furnished adequate wants or demands for goods that might be made, sold, or serviced by black people.

"If conventional wisdom about black people missing a tradition of entrepreneurship, ownership and a 'need for achivement' holds even a grain of truth, it is a statement not of an original condition but of an assured economic result of the solid and sustained preference of white people not to trade with black people."

Cross further states that "it was simply because a white society, which controlled all worthwhile opportunities, consistently avoided offering any interesting investment demand, or opportunity reward, for any capital which blacks might go about getting together."

The business census conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau in 1972 and 1977 shows that the total number of black-owned businesses in the New York City Metropolitan area increased by 2,155; in Los Angeles by 3,519; in Washington, D.C. by 1,883; in Detroit by 1,419; and in Philadelphia by only 403.

On the June 1981 Black Enterprise Magazine list of top 100 black companies in the United States, Pennsylvania had only five while Ohio claimed six, Michigan 10; Illinois and California 11; and New York 15.

Philadelphia does not have a black-owned bank although cities with much smaller black populations have supported such institutions for at least 10 years. This same void exists in Philadelphia in regard to insurance companies and major savings and loan associations. According to the 1980 census, Philadelphia is 39.9 percent black; the expectation is that by the year 2000 it will be 50 percent black. Both percentages represent a tremendous political reality. With education, political strategy, and the use of effective communications to build support, this reality can be a strong weapon in demanding economic parity.

VENTURE CAPITAL AND BANKS

Greater Philadelphia Venture Capital is an organization financed by local banks with the sole purpose of lending to minority businesses. The total bank investment in the corporation is $537,500 with the largest contribution at $89,250. In comparison, banks in Boston have contributed eight million dollars, banks in Chicago six million dollars, and in Los Angeles five million dollars to organizations similar to Philadelphia Venture Capital.

The Southeastern Pennsylvania Development Fund (SPED) is also a special lending agency funded by banks and grants from the Philadelphia Industrial Development Corporation and the Philadelphia Industrial Loan Fund. Seventeen local banks are shareholders in SPED, whose book value of shares totals a mere 1.1 million dollars, an average of $64,700 per bank.

The city's top five banks ranked by assets are First Pennsylvania, Girard, Provident, Fidelity, and Philadelphia National Bank. Girard Bank has put a total of 7.3 million dollars into SBA guaranteed loans. However, Continental Banks, Industrial Valley Bank, and Southeast National have all put more money into SBA guaranteed loans than Provident, Fidelity or PNB.

The problems of Philadelphia's black financial community closely mirror the dilemma of minority institutions across the nation. The agencies designed to assist the black business community are somewhat effective, but most are overburdened by the myriad problems facing black businesses. In short supply are experienced minority entrepreneurs, the availability of adequate cash and the skilled personnel needed to operate many new enterprises.

There are many institutions in the Philadelphia region designed to provide assistance to black operators. Among them are the Small Business Administration, the Pennsylvania Minority Business Development Authority, the Citywide Development Corporation, the Opportunity Industrialization Center's Entrepreneurial Development and Training Center, the Regional Minority Purchasing Council, the Booker T. Washington

Foundation and several offices of Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Corporations (MESBICs).

In fiscal year 1978-79, the SBA in Pennsylvania made $4,838,960 in direct and guaranteed loans to minorities, mostly in Southeastern Pennsylvania. In the South Jersey region, SBA direct and guaranteed loans amounted to $3,162,000 in the same period.

Black businesses also have difficulty getting government contracts because they cannot get bonding — the insurance the government requires for protection in case the company is unable to fulfill its contract.

"It's a vicious cycle," business specialist Robert Bynum told a reporter for The Bulletin during an interview. "The businesses can't get a contract because they can't get bonding. And they can't get bonding because of insufficient capital."

Bynum reported that there were some 3,500 black-owned businesses in Pennsylvania and about 1,200 in the Southeastern part of the state in 1978, the most recent year for which figures are immediately available.

Forty-nine minority businesses during 1980, mostly black-owned, had a total of more than three million in state contracts compared with less than half a million in 1977.

The Bulletin article pointed out that the SBA during 1980 helped minority-owned businesses obtain $42 million in federal contracts and expected the figure to exceed $50 million, according to William Jones, Sr., who directs the SBA's minority Small Business and Capital Ownership Development program in Pennsylvania.

CITY PROCUREMENT

Philadelphia contracts for goods, services and construction in two ways. Most purchases are made through the city's procurement department made up of seven white buyers, one of them female. All have been with the city 10 to 15 years. In fiscal 1980 the procurement department bought about $600 million worth of goods, products and construction services. The system that has been used for at least 10 years cannot track purchases from minority vendors. Until the Green Administration in late 1981, there was no policy statement and no mechanism to insure that minority businesses were encouraged to bid on city procurements.

The second method of purchasing, which is even more difficult to track, allows department and agency heads to contract for personal and professional services in a manner that is less than open. Again, not until very recently was there any encouragement by city purchasers to use minority vendors. In 1980 the dollar amount for these purchases was about $200 million.

One day before The Bulletin went out of business, reporter Elmer Smith revealed the details of a study secretly commissioned by several black city council members.

Less than one percent of the $875 million in contracts awarded by Philadelphia's procurment department since 1979 went to minority contractors.

Just $774,222 in contracts awarded through the city's procurement department, according to the study, was awarded to firms whose majority interests were owned by minorities.

Total contracts let in 1979 amounted to more than $240 million. Of this, $177,715.50 went to minority firms for a minority percentage of seven one hundredths of a percent, the study claims.

During 1980, the report indicated, that of nearly $400 million awarded, with $563,144 or 15 and one-eighth of one percent, going to minority firms.

Over a three year period, minority contractors were awarded a total of nine-tenths of one percent in city contracts.

City Councilman Lucien Blackwell, chairman of the Council Finance Committee, charged the report was prepared by "people who work within the administration."

Blackwell said the secret study would serve as the basis for public hearings on an affirmative action bill he planned to introduce in council.

Philadelphia procurement commissioner, Louis Shallcross, responded by saying, "... I don't know for sure what a minority business is. I couldn't tell you for sure what we are awarding to minority firms. We don't put (racial) tags on the firms we deal with."

City projects, for which federal funds are used, have varying degrees of encouragement or mandate for using minority businesses. However, it is up to the city to enforce these provisions.

Given the stagnant state of minority business in Philadelphia, it is safe to assume that the city, until recently, had pursued a policy of extreme indifference. But a program of minority set-asides appears to be at least a partial solution.

Set-aside legislation is presently pending in City Council. The bill mandates that a certain percentage of all city procurement be purchased from minority businesses. Had the ordinance been in effect in 1980, with a minimum of 10 percent set-aside, minority businesses might have realized an additional $80 million.

Other cities have had set-aside programs for some time and valuable lessons could be learned from their experiences. Cities such as Atlanta, Portland, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Boston, San Diego, and Chicago represent a cross section of situations upon which to draw.

The certification process in other geographic areas and among different agencies has included requirements to supply a birth certificate, list qualifications and affiliations of all stockholders and name individuals responsible for corporate functions such as bidding, marketing and administration.

One of the most critical elements in any set-aside program is the enforcement and monitoring process. If the goal of the program is to stimulate economic development by putting resources in the hands and under control of those who have been excluded from participating in the economic mainstream, then the program can only be measured in dollars being spent with minority businesses. Each city agency and department should establish goals, have quarterly reviews, and have sanctions imposed for non-compliance which are integral factors in promotions and raises. Set-aside programs in other cities, where compliace is ignored, face contract terminations, fines and imprisonment.

RECOMMENDATIONS

MINORITY BUSINESS ASSOCIATIONS

Minority business associations help insure a fair share of the economic pie. Co-operation and coalitions, professionalism, independence and an assumption of success are all the essential.

Minority business associations must exploit opportunities during election years, use the media, and bring facts and specific plans to the public as well as to the bargaining table. One organizing strategy is to develop and systematically carry out short and long-range plans. Long-range plans might involve the systematic development of statewide and regional coalitions.

This effort should also be accompanied by a communications program which builds broad-based public support while educating specific groups about the benefits of maintaining a strong and healthy minority business community.

BUSINESS DEVELOPMENT CENTERS

Business Development Centers (BDC's) which specialize in new technologies, new jobs, and new management and ownership opportunities could meet a number of objectives for minority economic development. Data processing, communications, engineering, and space technologies offer such possibilities.

The overall goal of these centers would be to foster the creation of viable minority-owned and controlled businesses by helping business with product/service research and development, market identification and projections for securing profitable market penetration, start-up and short and long-term financing mechanisms and initial and periodic management training that keeps pace with the growth of the business.

Small businesses should be evaluated every five years and directions adjusted to be consistent with the environment and the economy.

These centers should be funded by private industry with a local, state and federal package which includes purchasing commitments and tax incentives. Local communities should be equal partners in making decisions about the centers. Each BDC should be required to provide tangible benefits to the surrounding community. These benefits might include education, employment, improvement of local facilities and community planning and organizing assistance.

COOPERATIVE AGREEMENTS

The private sector as well as federal, state and local governments should have unequivocal agreements for goals related to using minority businesses on all major projects funded by tax dollars. Minority population percentages might be the basis for establishing goals. An emphasis on using local businesses, especially in the Philadelphia area, would help stimulate minority business development.

A specific cooperative agreement relative to deposits could serve as the spearhead for the development of a minority-owned bank. This approach, coupled with the building of a coalition of various ethnic groups and an informed public education and communications program, could insure the success of this venture.

FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS AND DEVELOPMENT ENTITIES

Banks, pension funds, industrial development agencies, insurance companies, and developers all have a pivotal role in insuring economic parity for minorities. Goals for minority business participation provide a reference point for minority businesses and evidence of a tangible commitment.

The role of banks has undergone considerable analysis. Some of the ideas that seem to have promise are to:

- develop more realistic and less conservative loan policies for minority and small businesses.

- dramatically increase contributions to local MESBIC's and organizations such as SPED.
- increase commitments to use minority businesses as suppliers.
- target special programs to economically-depressed areas coupled with long-term planning and long-term commitments.

Pension funds at all levels and especially those controlled by the public sector represent untapped opportunities for minority-controlled financial and investment enterprises. These pension assets include contributions from teachers, municipal workers, federal employees, and employees of major corporations.

In 1980, blacks contributed $10 billion of the total $134 million invested by workers to pension funds. Assuming that about $1 billion was contributed in the Philadelphia area, five percent of this total controlled by blacks would be a tremendous source of capital for a local minority investment or insurance company. Based on the legal requirements under the Investment Act of 1940, minority investment banks as well as others must produce a return on investment for pension funds that is competitive with other fund managers. Investments could include financing equity, debt and real estate of minority-owned financial institutions and large non-white businesses. The essential element is that a portion of these funds be controlled by the black business community.

LARGE NON-PROFIT INSTITUTIONS

A way must be found to encourage large institutions which reap the benefits of non-profit and non-taxpaying status to put some of their resources, via purchasing, into minority economic development ventures. Large churches, educational institutions, hospitals, and associations in Philadelphia represent billions of dollars in purchasing power. There should be a direct correlation between the tax benefits accrued to these groups and the setting of goals for their participation in local economic development.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

The Federal government could do much to encourage the development of the minority business sector as a stimulus to the economy. Precedent for this has been set in the assistance provided to farmers and oil companies.

Additional federal guidelines for Minority Enterprise Small Business Investment Corporations (MESBIC's) are badly needed. These Corporations were created by an act of Congress to provide funds to minority enterprises. MESBIC's in Philadelphia issue guidelines which are too narrow, approaches which are too traditional and people who are too conservative. Very few of the loans made have been felt at the local level. About 30-40 percent of these financial resources need to be channeled into more high-risk ventures.

Also needed is relief from taxes. Especially payroll taxes which put an added burden on the minority business located in a city or state that has a high payroll tax rate. Relief could be established by the Federal government assigning a reasonable local payroll tax ceiling rate for minority businesses such as .02 percent. The Federal government would provide credits to local municipalities to make up the difference between the .02 percent and the local rate. In Philadelphia that would mean the Federal government would be subsidizing .023125 percent of the payroll tax liability of minority businesses.

The Urban Jobs and Enterprise Zone Act of 1981 provides a positive step in changing the negative perception of urban areas as bad for business. Because business is not a monolith, realistic consideration needs to be given to the types of businesses which are suitable for the locations and expansion proposed by this act. Business decisions are made on an analysis of benefits. The package of tax incentives and the focus on employment and housing certainly address problems which continue to plague minority communities. However, the act overlooks several business concerns. Among them:

- Training for jobs that will exist in the 21st century requires resources that do not exist in current community-based programs.

- Recruitment, hiring, training, and maintaining the most difficult groups of the unemployed will require a great deal of planning and long- term commitments.
- Security for personnel, facility, equipment/materials, and deliveries is conspicuously absent.
- Increased transportation is necessary.

CONCLUSION

What is clearly needed is a mix of ideas, long-range planning, the ability to discard programs and efforts that are obviously not working, and the use of minority business to identify specific problems and create solutions.